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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION
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BY

JOHN W. BRADLEY, B.A.

AUTHOR OF "A DICTIONARY OF MINIATURISTS," ETC.

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PREFACE

The collection to which this volume forms an introduction includes few complete MSS., and consists chiefly of pages, initials and ornaments that have been removed from the volumes to which they belong. Most of these cuttings have been fully described by Mr Bradley. His descriptions may be consulted by students in the library, and they are being used in the labelling of the works.

In the Introduction Mr Bradley constantly gives references to larger works on the subject, and to sets of reproductions in the library. These references are supplemented by a list of similar works acquired since this volume has been in preparation. The illustrations are reproduced from originals in the collection or from photographs specially made for the Museum.

G H P

10th August 1901

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ART OF ILLUMINATION

PREFATORY REMARKS

To attempt still another extended History of the Art of Illumination while so many elaborate and in some cases richly illustrated treatises already exist in this very library would here be quite superfluous. But as some notice must be considered necessary to connect and explain the numerous scattered examples which form the collection this brief but systematic summary embracing the chief chronological geographical and technical facts which underlie the more expensive treatises has been written. Such a summary should not be without interest to the student and should serve as a guide through a somewhat intricate and not very familiar department of art history. Some of the examples in the collection will no doubt form excellent illustrations while others which may be necessary to the proper understanding or may add to the interest of the subject can be referred to in the numerous illustrated works here accessible to the reader or pointed out among the instances that have come under my own notice in British and foreign libraries.

As the library collection contains almost exclusively mediæval work early or late and such Renaissance examples as grew directly out of the Italian revival of classical taste it will not be desirable to dwell minutely on the possible Miniature Art of Antiquity. At the same time the student should have the means of forming a tolerably precise idea of that portion of the subject. It is much to be regretted that greater accuracy has not been observed by writers who have dealt with this particular topic. Some speak loosely of illumination and illustration as if these things were one and the same or as if illuminations were synonymous with miniatures and moreover confound the latter with minute paintings in water colours.

What is illumination? Let us to begin with point out very simply what it manifestly is not. The merest glance at an illuminated book will show that it is not simply illustration—that it means something more than pictures or ornaments however brightly coloured and something different from ordinary drawing or painting while at the same time it is an art exclusively pertaining to the ornamentation of books.

What then constitutes the difference? The term itself does not seem to claim any very high antiquity, it is by no means as old as the art to which it is applied probably not older than the twelfth century¹. But it had then a very definite and special meaning and that meaning we are bound to adopt as our own setting aside all later modifications brought about by changes of practice or application. Illumination, in the twelfth century, meant the lighting up of the page *with bright colours and burnished gold*. Later times especially in Germany gave the name of *Illuminierer* to the artist who coloured engravings and occasionally heightened his work with pencil touches and hatchings of liquid gold and still later times have bestowed the name of *limner* on any one who painted in water colours. But to define illumination as an art of painting in bright water-colours would effectually mislead anyone who had never seen an example of the art. Such a definition might perhaps extend its antiquity but it would fail to describe its character. To be true illumination it must combine *the use of bright colours and precious metals*. In this essential it is intimately allied to heraldic blazon. As in the latter the substitution of a colour for a metal becomes a solecism which evades one of its primary conditions of veracity, and reduces it to the ordinary category of a water colour painting. Again it follows, that miniature painting is not necessarily illumination though often loosely confounded with it. It has been repeatedly explained that the word miniature is derived from the use of *minium*, and has no further connexion with minishing as regards dimensions than the mere accident of its application.

In the present sense, however, of painting "in little," miniature painting is known to have existed from the remotest antiquity. We cannot imagine for a moment that the ancients as we are accustomed to call the cultivated nations who existed before the Christian era were incapable of forming the combination of colours and metals just referred to. Indeed there is a papyrus in the Louvre which actually presents almost the essential features of an illuminated MS. for it contains pictures (of funeral ceremonies) painted in bright colours heightened with gold. An art which could be called illumination therefore was known many ages before it existed in Christian Europe,

¹ One of the earliest known notices of its use is in the Ecclesiastical History of Orléans by Valart (Book III) where he speaks of a certain monk as "ipse p[ro]p[ri]a scriptor et litterarum illuminator." Id. l. c. Præf. p. 77. Orléans 1541. p. 114.

but as we should expect very much lower in its grade than that with which we are now concerned. At any rate the Louvre papyrus is at present the earliest example on record. Nor can we suppose it possible that throughout the long period of classical antiquity the art remained unknown or that the later luxury of Athens and Corinth of Pergamum Ephesus and Cyzicus of Rhodes of Syracuse Tarentum and Sybaris of Pompeii and Rome would overlook so obvious a form of artistic culture as the production of magnificent copies of favourite authors or the perpetuation of the features of distinguished persons. Accordingly from time to time we have mention of some poem written in letters of gold some collection of miniature portraits some beautiful volume or codex of saffron coloured scarlet or purple vellum some cedar scented and gilded gift book prepared for Imperial acceptance or destined to be laid up sacredly on the altar of the tutelary deity. But nothing of the veritable details of such books is definitely stated. Brief and vague or poetic hints are the most that we get from any ancient writers and these often more by allusion than by a direct statement of fact. This is the sum of what antiquity has left us for not one relic of the sumptuous and exceptional treasures has survived like the Louvre papyrus to tell its own tale of luxury and skill. The earliest name on record of any miniature artist is that of a lady, the celebrated Lala of Cyzicus who is said to have executed the enormous number of 700 portraits for Varro's *Hebdomades* a work of which we have a short notice in the Natural History of Pliny. In the time of Augustus she was a person of mature age and had acquired a reputation for the skilful manner in which she painted portraits especially of ladies on ivory. Among the relics of the buried Campanian cities there is in the Museum at Naples a picture which may well be considered as one of the most curious in that curious collection. It represents a lady engaged in painting a Hermes like statuette of the Indian Bacchus. The execution of this tempera painting is most delicate and charming the draperies are of pale violet and yellow and the tender colouring is only surpassed by the graceful drawing. The attitude of the lady as she contemplates her unfinished work is most natural unaffected and perfect. Two other ladies are looking on from behind and a little *amoretto* holding a small picture is leaning on the base of the statuette. The interest of the scene is increased for us by the information that in this artist we see the portrait of Lala herself. She had a name not only for skill but for

rapidity as Pliny says 'no one surpassed her in facility of hand' ¹ We know nothing more of Lala than that she painted on ivory and vellum, that she was engaged by M. Terentius Varro to execute the portraits for his Biographies and that her works obtained higher prices than those of Sopolis and Dionysius famous Greek painters established like herself in Rome and similarly engaged in painting portraits. Varro had discovered a process by which outlines could be reproduced mechanically—a process alluded to by Pliny as *invenitum Varronis*—but whether it involved tracing engraving or stencilling cannot be decided owing to the vague manner in which it is referred to. It was communicated by Varro to Lala and the portraits of the *Hebdomades* were repeated by it. We are also told that Lala by her skill in colouring endowed them with the charm of reality. Once known to the miniaturist it is not likely that the secret would be allowed to die out, on the other hand it is probable that the traditional process is alluded to in a letter written more than eight centuries afterwards by Loup or Lupus, abbot of Ferrières to Eginhard, the biographer of Charles the Great. Eginhard died in 839. In this letter Lupus says: 'The scriptor regius Berchtold is said to possess the measure laid down of antique letters at least of those which are very large and which some call uncials. Send it to me, I beg if within your power by this painter on his return but take care that the packet is carefully sealed. It is just possible that the *invenitum Varronis* was a secret kept in the profession and unknown to those outside. The painters' guilds of the Low Countries especially, were very strict in the maintenance of their craft secrets and they certainly had means of reproducing both letters and miniature outlines more expeditious than that of ordinary drawing.'

It may seem a remarkable fact that of all the volumes executed in Imperial times not one Roman illuminated book should have survived. Either we must hope that something of the kind still remains to be discovered or we must suppose that possibly some other form of gift book was preferred and that it is not to illuminated MSS but perhaps to ivory diptychs that we must look for the fashionable keepsakes of the last days of Imperial Rome. But however this may be it is a fact that no sample of an illuminated or even of an illustrated book is known that can be dated much earlier than the fourth century.

¹ The picture here referred to is given in outline by H. Roux in *Le Herculanum et Pompéi* II pl. 11, p. 43.

² See (Cruz) *Die Bildverzierung des Varro*. (In *Zeitschrift für Archäologie*, 1843.)

I

ILLUMINATION AS IT PROBABLY EXISTED UNDER THE
EARLY ROMAN EMPERORS

The oldest of surviving codices containing pictures is said to be one of two copies of Vergil preserved in the Vatican Library

These two MSS are numbered 3225 and 3867. The facsimiles of the careful Palaeographical Society place the latter first and doubtfully assign it to the third or fourth century. Most other authorities consider it to be about a century the later of the two and some suggest that from certain indications in its technical features and traits of costume it may even be a twelfth century copy of a genuine Roman original. But apart from this both MSS belong to a period of decline and the former contains the better work. Whichever may be the older these two codices are our first landmarks. No 3225 is really a small fragment of the whole work consisting merely of parts of Books III and IV of the Georgics and of III to VIII of the *Æneid*. Nominally it contains 50 miniatures but five of them are now almost effaced. It is written on 76 leaves of fine vellum $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ inches square with 21 lines to the page. Once the codex belonged to Cardinal Pietro Bembo and this is the first trace of its history. Afterwards it passed into the hands of Gioviano Pontano and thence to those of Fulvio Orsini who presented it in a cedar box to the Vatican Library¹. Orsini died in 1600. About 1625 the Roman antiquary and engraver Pietro Santi Bartoli at the instance and cost of Cardinal Camillo de' Medici, made drawings of the miniatures but so *improvised* and altered them that his engravings from the drawings are from an antiquarian point of view almost valueless. They were published in 1677. In 1725 he issued what he calls a second edition with the addition to complete the series of five subjects from MS 3867. Another edition with further retouchings of the plates was put forth in 1741 by Battani. From the engraver's standpoint this is said to be the best. Here therefore we may leave this so-called reproduction. The drawings made by Bartoli which are certainly clever and interesting but by no means facsimiles of the originals, are now in the British Museum (Lansdowne MS 834). In the same Library also is an excellent fac-

¹ GIOV. BELTRAMI *I Libri di Fulvio Orsini nella Biblioteca Vaticana* f. 25

smile (Egerton MS 2349) of one of the original miniatures made by Mrs Lane Conolly, of Rome

The handwriting in Vatican MS 3225 is in small rustic capitals much smaller than those of 3867 being only about $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch in height. The first three lines of each book are in red. The miniatures of this volume are some of the best and most interesting specimens of ancient painting which have come down to us. The design is free and the colours applied with good effect the whole presenting classical art in the period of decline but before its final debasement. Such was the opinion of Sir M Digby Wyatt who saw the MS in 1846. He adds (*Art of Illuminating* 1860 p 5). The colours are applied with a free brush and apparently in the true antique manner, i.e. with scarcely any previous or finishing outline.

Of the five lost or vanishing miniatures one was effaced before the time of Bartoli and Mai calls attention to others, of which four have now almost entirely scaled off the vellum. For further notes on this interesting MS the reader may consult Labarte *Hist des Arts Industriels* 2^o ed. II 158, Seroux d'Agincourt *Hist de l'Art par les Monuments*, III, Woltmann and Woermann *History of Painting* I, 102¹. Facsimiles of the pictures are attempted by Angelo Mai in *Vergilii picturae antiquae* Rome 1835.

The other Vergil (Vat Lat 3867) is as already stated doubtfully assigned by the Palaeographical Society to the third or fourth century though, as we have said several other authorities incline to a later date. The codex contains the *Bucolics*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* except a few leaves and is written on 309 leaves of vellum $13\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ inches square with 18 lines to the page.

The writing, on which chiefly the judgment as to its antiquity is based is large, much larger than that of 3225, and of the kind called rustic capitals* with no separation of the words. It is such as is seen on the walls of Pompeii but used by copyists of MSS for at least two centuries after the date of those inscriptions. To distinguish it from the MS 3225, which is known as the *Codex Vaticanus*² 3867 is called the *Codex Romanus*. An inscription of the thirteenth century on one of its pages

¹ A. S. BEISSER, *Lat. ant. Miniat. ren.* Freiburg im Breisgau 1893 pp. 16, pl. I II.

² See Table of Classification of Handwritings on pp 87-91 of the present volume.

³ Or *Palaenus*. See E. M. THOMSON *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* London, 1893 pp 187-189.

reproduced by Seroux d Agincourt, seems to indicate that it then belonged to the Abbey of S Denis near Paris. The text begins with three lines in red a custom long continued by the copyists and the prologue and colophon have red lines among the black. The running titles also are red. This use of red ink or paint for headings and initial letters as already hinted was what at first was called miniature it was afterwards known as rubrication while the original designation was transferred to the ornamentation and after the introduction of small pictorial scenes or vignettes into the letters and borders was further extended to include them also. Lastly becoming confused with some notion of littleness introduced by the French term *miniature* it is now popularly understood to mean pictures of small dimensions and more especially portraits or the art of painting them. It may be that the red employed in the Vergil codex is not *minium* but *cinnabar* and very good of its kind for it still retains its redness. But the same name of *minium* is often applied to both. The MS contains 19 miniatures some filling the entire page, others narrow as to height extend quite across the width. Each picture is enclosed in a frame of red and gold. The style of art is still classical but much debased and probably though belonging to a period of decline not representative of the best of its time. In execution the work is rough the drawing feeble and inaccurate the painting harsh. It is of the kind called *gouache* or *tempera* i.e. the colours are laid on thickly in successive layers applied with yolk or white of egg diluted with fig tree sap and finished with pencillings of liquid gold. So far as photography can give an idea of their appearance the two facsimiles of the Philo-graphical Society may be trusted for fidelity to line and brushmark but unhappily the chief features of illumination, colour and metal are precisely those which are absent. Labarte and others have attempted facsimiles in colour but with indifferent success. Seroux d Agincourt's outlines though or perhaps because rough and sketchy give a more correct idea of the originals than the elaborate engravings of Bartoli. Labarte (2^e ed. II 158) describes both MSS, he considers 3225 to be the more ancient by a century. Many other writers have referred to them the majority of whom are cited in the prefaces to the editions of 1741, 1763 and in the Roman edition of Winckelmann's *Storia delle Arti del Disegno presso gli Antichi* II 10^a.

The Palæographical Society's facsimiles though unsatisfactory for the miniatures, yet as records of the hand writings are excellent and the descriptions of plates 114 and 117 supplement the defects of the facsimiles and descriptions of the rest. To realise the character of these important examples of classical painting the student should consult the descriptions and reproductions.

Our plan in this Introduction of reference to existing authorities dispenses with such detail as does not refer to cardinal points necessary facts or typical examples hence *we need not for the most part do more than point out what to study or where to obtain the necessary information.* Our main business is to ascertain clearly the salient features of each period or so called style as exhibited in some special example and to notice how they agree with or differ from those of the rest. Thus by grouping and classification we may at length be able fully to grasp the subject. Of the remaining examples of old Roman art the number may be counted on the fingers. Whether owing to the devastation caused by constant wars or the overflow of barbarism or the fluctuation of public taste and fashion the period from Constantine to Justinian including as it does the portentous event called the Fall of the Western Empire although by no means destitute of the creations of art and even rich in basilicas mosaics and articles of jewellery and personal decoration has left no great legacy of pictorial art. Literature was far from neglected. The pens of the theologian the annalist and the poet were constantly active and some of the world's heirlooms have descended from these very years. Eusebius Cyril the two Gregories of Nazianzus and Nysa Ambrose Jerome, Augustine Chrysostom and Hilary present no mean array of churchmen, Amelius Victor Julian Ammianus still shine somewhat as historians and Claudian Sidonius Apollinaris and Avitus show at least the dying efforts of classic versification while Macrobius Priscian and Boethius swell but do not complete the list of unforgotten names in other departments of literature. Yet this busy period has scarcely bequeathed us the smallest shelf load of illustrated MSS. Just six fragments of codices represent the miniature wealth of two hundred years—the two centuries that lie between A.D. 330 when Byzantium became the city of Constantine and 530 when Justinian published his famous code and Benedict of Nursia founded his first monastic brotherhood at Monte Cassino.

Among these fragments the next in date and importance to the Vatican Vergils is undoubtedly the Ambrosian Homer, so called because it belongs to the Ambrosian Library at Milan. A description of it with facsimiles of its miniatures was published at Milan in 1819 by the then Prefect of the library Dr Angelo Mai afterwards Cardinal and Librarian of the Vatican. The title of the work is *Iliadis fragmenta antiquissima cum picturis* (Mediolani 1819). The facsimiles are very much superior to those of the Bartoli Vergils. They are perhaps a little too sketchy but they indicate very faithfully the defects of the original drawings. The style of the latter is undoubtedly antique, with the stern or dignified expression well rounded limbs and graceful proportions of classic art. The subjects show the sources of the Vergil pictures of Vat 3225 more especially in the battle scenes plates XLII and LI are among the best. The original MS is written on 60 leaves of vellum of quarto size in one of the most beautiful handwritings possible but more like the work of a Greek copyist. The leaves with the exception of two contain a picture each. On the back of each when first discovered was pasted a sheet of paper containing writing in a much larger hand. When this was removed there was disclosed the much mutilated but perfectly beautiful text of the poem indicating the period of its execution to be about the end of the fourth century. No miniatures remain for Books III XVII XIX and XXI nor is the text more than a fragment of some 800 verses. In the technical execution certain fixed rules or canons appear to have been followed which remind the student of the rules of the Byzantine Guide of the monk Dionysius. Thus Zeus is always painted red and Venus fair. Zeus has yellow sandals Venus wears a white peplos a yellow tunic and a crimson stole and river gods accompany the scenes. The colours used are very varied. Mai gives a list of them.

Hitherto while we have seen in these pre-Christian MSS a certain execution and technique that might in a sense entitle them to be classed as illuminations no sign appears of that additional ornament which is so characteristic of mediæval examples. The first existing codex which attempts any decoration beyond the pictures is a Roman calendar in the Imperial Library at Vienna attributed to the fourth century. It contains eight symbolical figures of the months of very skilful Roman execution and a distinct attempt at additional ornamental embellishment.

II

THE APPLICATION OF ILLUMINATION TO CHRISTIAN ART

We now leave these interesting relics of paganism to enter upon the continuous theme of their succession through the centuries of Christian Europe. In fact the beginning of Christian Art are in no way distinguishable from the pagan art which preceded them. It is one connected chain of processes and methods, the only change being in the subjects and symbolism attaching to the new order of ideas. Henceforward for many centuries we shall find by far the majority of illuminated books to be either theological or liturgical or such as were intended for presentation to religious houses. And as probably had been the case from time immemorial it was the practice whenever the contents were the same for the subjects assigned to the artist to be fixed according to some well known universal rule. Very rarely indeed is any copy of a well known or popular book found to contain, individually, pictures original in either subject or composition.

The earliest example of Christian book illustration is a Greek manuscript, containing fragments of the Book of Genesis, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna. It consists of 26 leaves of purple vellum, and contains no fewer than 86 pictures. The text is nearly all written in gold and silver inks, now considerably tarnished yet still retaining some of their ancient splendor. It indicates progress towards a richer kind of decoration than the Vergils and Homers of the preceding century. Being Greek however its miniatures according to early Byzantine usage are set in square frames without exterior enrichment. As to the painting there is not much to be said. It is wanting in solidity and finish, though not without a certain technical facility showing to be the work of a practised and probably professional miniaturist. There is also a late appreciation of the nude and of the true forms of trees and animals as contrasted with the enforced ignorance of later monastic work. Allegorical figures still accompany and explain the intention of the scene a feature which appears in the catacombs as continued from classic art and is prolonged throughout all Byzantine miniatures surviving in the more strictly religious class of pictures even in Western illumination to the end of the fifteenth century. The student may find outlines

of 13 of the subjects in Seroux d'Agincourt (*Peintures* v pl 19). A good account of the whole with engravings of all the miniatures was given by Lambecius in his *Commentaries on the Vienna Library*.¹ They were republished by D. de Nessel,² and again in Book III of Kollar's 2nd edition of Lambecius.³ It is noticed by other writers as by Dibdin 1 *Bibliographical Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour* 2 ed. III 289. These may be compared with the coloured facsimiles in Westwood⁴ and Labarte.⁵ There are reproductions from photographs in Garrucci,⁶ but they have the fault common to the whole work of hasty and imperfect execution. The best account of the whole accompanied by excellent reproductions in phototype has just been published by W. von Hartel and F. Wickhoff.⁷

Another Genesis codex once a truly splendid MS but now a shrivelled fragment is kept in the British Museum (Cott. Otho B. 12). Originally it possessed 250 miniatures on 165 leaves of vellum. It is supposed to be of the same age as the Vienna Genesis or perhaps somewhat older. F. H. Horne calls it the most ancient and most correct text of the Book of Genesis extant.⁸ Waagen gives a brief notice of it also,⁹ and of course there is an account of it in the Cottonian Catalogue¹⁰ and yet another in the *Vetusta Monumenta* of the Society of Antiquaries.¹¹

The next of these early MSS which we cannot omit, is a collection of Treatises on Botany, Hunting, Fishing, etc. by several Greek physicians called after its principal author and present location the Vienna Dioscorides. This is really the oldest MS in which the decoration is of sufficient importance to take rank beside the figures. The principal part of the volume is taken up however with drawings of plants, animals, birds, fishes, etc., in illustration of the various treatises it contains. It dates from the

¹ I. PETRI LAMBECHII *Commentariorum de Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi* 4 lib. i. p. 4. Vindobonae 1670.

² *Catalogus sive recensio specialis omnium Codicum MSS. Cracorum Bibliothecae Caesariae Vindobonensis* i. 55-10. Vindobonae 1671.

³ Vindobonae 1766-89.

⁴ *Photographia Sacra Factora* pl. 4. London 1843-45.

⁵ *Les Arts Industriels etc.* III. 1. 2^e ed. pl. 17.

⁶ *Storia della Arte Cristiana ne primi otto secoli della Chiesa* II. pl. 110-13. Trato 1856.

⁷ *Die Wiener Genesis*. Wien 1894-95.

⁸ *Introduction to the critical study etc. of the Holy Scriptures* 8 ed. vol. II pt. 1 p. 104. London 1839.

⁹ *Treasures of Art in Great Britain* i. 9th. London 1834.

¹⁰ *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library* 16. p. 363.

¹¹ *Vetusta Monumenta* II. pl. LXVII. and LXVIII. London 1741.

commencement of the sixth century, A.D. 505. The first six or seven folios are especially noticeable. A description of its miniatures and supposed origin, together with an account of the Princess Juliana Anicia for whom it was executed, is given by Lambecius in the Commentaries already mentioned¹, and again by Montfaucon², with engraved facsimiles. Labarte gives a coloured reproduction,³ Louandre gives two⁴ and recent works repeat them or give others.

Another famous sixth century fragment some forty years later than the Dioscorides, is a Bible once belonging to the monastery of Montamta in Tuscany and now in the Laurentian Library at Florence. Examples of its miniatures are given by Garrucci.⁵

We have now in the enumeration of these examples of early art reached the sixth century, and we have to observe that no new element of style has been introduced, so that they are purely representative of Roman painting as practised in centuries that were being rapidly exhausted of artistic culture. They were not times of prosperity, and such means as men had were expended of necessity on the security rather than on the embellishment of life. It was only in the more settled localities, in cities where the government was tolerably stable and property fairly safe from depredation that men would venture to lay out their wealth on the superfluous gratifications of luxury and taste. Hence only under the rule of princes like Theodoric the Ostrogoth in the West, or of Anastasius and his immediate successors in Constantinople, or in those favoured localities where the Church could exert her conciliatory and tutelary influence, do we meet with the erection of splendid edifices and the execution of costly monuments of art. Such things are substantial proofs of the mutual confidence of mankind, and of the enjoyment of many things beyond the bare necessities of existence. The MSS. already mentioned are all monuments of declining taste. In the reign of Nero we know from the coinage without any appeal to the historian that art of the highest class was known and appreciated. We know also that it was still flourishing under the Antonines. But if sculpture and bronzes still remained fine and masterly, painting even in the time of Vespasian

¹ II. 519-608.

² *P. lapographia Græca*. Paris 1708.

³ Pl. 78.

⁴ *Les Arts Somptueuses etc.* I. 1. 2. 3. Paris 1842.

⁵ Pl. 127-127. See also Unger's *Christlich Griechische, oder Byzantinische Kunst* in FROBENIUS's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*.

was considered to be a dying art, which had descended to the mere decoration of apartments. The landscape painting which Ludius and others had once made the basis of these mural embellishments with its villas, porticoes, groves, cascades and seaports and every variety of mythological or imaginative incident and of innocent caricature had degenerated into satyric orgies or equivocal trivialities in which too frequently refinement and decency were equally forgotten. The execution, too had become slight and hasty, the colours cruel and the perspective utterly neglected until indeed the work was nothing but a mere flush of gaudy vulgarity left to the hurried performances of ordinary household slaves. By the time of Constantine the Augustan arabesques and Vitruvian severity had alike disappeared and although a certain echo of former skill in figure painting still lingered even that was fading out. All that remained was the mechanical technique of the atelier inherited without the genius yet here and there as in the Cottonian Genesis and the Amrosian Iliad with a shadowy reminiscence of style suggesting the once masterly art of which these copies are distant and degenerate imitations.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CLASSICAL AND EARLY CHRISTIAN MINIATURE ART

FIGURE.—In the Homer, well formed and athletic. Draperies with good folds and movements. Single forms often statuesque or awkward as if meant for sculptural rather than pictorial grouping. Some examples as the Vergils show about heavy figures and expressionless faces indicating the decline of art.

LANDSCAPE AND BACKGROUND.—In the older examples natural and pleasing with trees, water, rocks, etc., studied from nature. In later work formal imitations of preceding models followed without actual study of Nature. In some instances mere backgrounds like the scene paintings of a theatre or as in Pompeian wall paintings.

ORNAMENT—In the earlier examples, entirely or almost entirely wanting. Appears timidly in the *Codex Romanus Vergil*, more definitely in the Vienna Roman Calendar, and still more fully developed in the *Dioscorides*.

TECHNIC—Little or no visible outline. The brush-work broad and decided, and applied in successive layers, dried between each application, in a kind of body colour called "tempera," or in the thick wash technically called 'gouache.' The vehicle probably cherry tree or other gum or white and yolk of egg, together or separate, beaten to a cream and diluted with the sap of the fig-tree. Liquid gold used sometimes as a high light, or to enrich the ornamentation.

MANUSCRIPTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF CLASSICAL OR EARLY CHRISTIAN MINIATURE ART

No	Name	Location	Date	Remarks
1	Vergil fragment	Vatican Library Rome Cod. Vat. no 3253	3rd or 4th cent	It is a question which of these two MSS is the older; both, however, are as old as the 4th cent.
2	Vergil	Vatican Libr., Cod. Roni no 3467	4th cent	
3	Roman Calendar fragment	Imp Libr Vienna.	" "	
4	Cenex fragment	" "	5th cent	Contains traces of ornament.
5	" "	Brit Mus Cotton Otho B. vi	" "	Gold and silver text on purple vellum and 49 miniatures.
6	Ilud fragment	Ambros Libr Milan	" "	Mostly burnt in 1791.
7	Joshua roll fragment	Vatican Libr Rome		Beautiful handwriting and spirited pictures. Contains 13 leaves 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft long 21 in wide from ch. 11 to ch. 24. 46. Pictures outlined with brush. Antique costumes, rivers, etc., personified. Joshua with nimbus.
8	Dioscorides etc	Imp. Libr., Vienna.	c 503.	See p. 13.
9	Latin Bible of Montecassino	Laurentian Libr Florence	c 540	Work poor and in bad preservation.
10	Servius Gorgias etc	" "	c 550	Presented at Zagba in Mesopotamia and came in 1497 into this library (See Bryant MSS.)
11	Terence	Vatican Libr Rome		
12	"	Vat Libr., Paris.	9th cent	A ninth cent. copy of a 4th or 5th cent. MS., contains portrait of author and pen-drawings.
13	Pentateuch of Tours	Nat Libr., Paris nouveau acquis. 2334.	9th cent.	Cell of Abbot Lebeuf in 1740. Pentateuch contains 10 large miniatures. See description.

11 DELISLE *Catal. des MSS des Fonds Latins et Grecs*, p. 17. Paris 1885. the detail of notice by Dr O. von Gebhardt with reproductions in photo type and chromo-lithography (*The miniatures of the Ashmolean Pentateuch* London, 1885) and the Falmerlee publications, 234-5.

each weighing a quintal, stood in various parts of the building. The verses of Paul the Silentary go on to say that what with the lamps swinging in chains of brass from the roofs and the candelabra beneath standing upon the floor the lamps seemed to be floating in an ocean of fire. Such as vividly described at length in the poem of the Silentary and in the elaborate essay of Du Fresnoy was this new Basilica of the Divine Wisdom the building which, passing through the hands of Anthemios of Tralles, Isidore of Miletus and the Oriental artists employed upon it transformed the Roman art of Constantinople into a new style henceforward to be called Byzantine.

Even under Constantine the New Rome had been decorated with the spoils both of East and West, and through the constant additions of beautiful architecture in churches, baths and palaces, all enriched with pictures, mosaics, bas-reliefs and statuary it had become the most attractive city in the whole Roman Empire. The industrial and sumptuary arts were largely cultivated, and the Byzantine manufactures of jewellery and silken tissues became famous throughout Christendom. Like the Persians the later Greek artists were noted for every variety of design in flowers, animals and scenes from field sports and domestic history. Anastasius the Librarian says with some fervour "On a tunic or a mantle might be counted as many as 600 figures." Similar facts caused St. Asterius, c. 400 to remark in his Homily on the Rich Man and Lazarus "The dresses of these effeminate Christians were painted like the walls of their houses." They aimed at possessing beds, coffers, and vases of brass, ebony, ivory, silver and gold.

It is no wonder that with such an example before their eyes and such models the calligraphists and illuminators of books found congenial occupation. For some time the impetus was irresistible and works of unrivalled splendour were executed for use in the basilica and palace. When Justinian, years before wrote to thank the eastern-born pope Hormisdas for his zeal in suppressing the Eutychian and Monothelite heresies he had sent him a present of a large Book of the Gospels decorated in the richest style of Greco-Roman art. And now the Gospel books became richer still although tablets of beaten gold set with precious gems had formed the covers of that costly present. Such art had now become fashionable and was encouraged by the most lavish patronage. Artists could afford to send for their materials to the far East and throughout the

southern shores of Europe. Minimum of peerless brilliancy was brought from India and Spain lapis lazuli from Persia and Bokhara. The famous Byzantine gold ink was manufactured at home from the purest Oriental gold.

Illumination as restored with all these fresh advantages of example and wealth became practically almost a new art. In the bygone days of Constantine and Theodosius the great features of calligraphy had been the gold and silver inks and vellum finely stained with rose or scarlet or purple dye. Under Justinian the precious inks were still continued but far richer ornamentation than the staining of the vellum was added. St Jerome once complained of the waste in such expensive luxuries, yet only as a part of the general extravagance of his time.

It is just possible that we have an example of the period when the Dome of Anthemios was uninjured, in the two mutilated leaves of a Gospel book now preserved in the British Museum. If indeed they came to us from Rome rather than Byzantium, or if claimed as simply Greek in their style we may feel sure that the artist had had access to such models as had produced the Gospel book of Hormisdas, if not to that very volume.

time. Even transient or merely fashionable usages are often recorded in the pages of the MSS. Again whilst we make use of dates given us by political history and of the limits of geographical areas we need never be far wrong in our estimate if we can attach to the illumination the style of architecture practised in the locality of its production and especially if we can decipher such minor embellishments as local and contemporary taste have made the momentary fashion. At one time it is the architecture itself with its columns capitals arches and friezes that is the subject of background or border decoration at another utensils and furniture at another objects of personal adornment. During the central Gothic period almost all the ornament was obtained from the field the garden or the forest.

These however, are generalizations which do not aid us greatly until we can apply them to time and place. Meantime we may store them as impressions to prepare the way to knowledge of which time and place are as a rule necessary elements. Time and place *focus* objects of study and by clearing them to the sight give form and precision to our ideas in short permit us to know what otherwise we could only conjecture. We may sometimes profitably study good undated work in anticipation of finding at some future time the clue to the date and locality of its origin but only good work is worth the trouble. The better it is the likelier it is of recognition. Bad work is beset with difficulties and uncertainties of every kind.

It is time however to apply these remarks to practice. We have described generally the principal features of Byzantine art but since it is a subject on which all professional writers are not agreed as to extent and detail we must for the sake of clearness and consistency state more precisely what we mean by it and then briefly describe one or two examples of its best period. Byzantine art is not Greek art but Roman art practised at Constantinople and dispersed thence to other localities. That is it is not the direct lineal descendant of Greek occupying the ancestral territory. It is Roman art transplanted and embodying whatever Greek and Oriental additions have been engrafted upon it in its new soil. It is not the art introduced or propagated by Constantine or his immediate successors. It is the art which dates from the New Basilica of Santa Sophia and the many-sided artistic tastes of Justinian. Denuded of its Oriental trappings in the abstract it is the union of Greek æsthetic with Christian moral

as are recognisable in illumination executed in countries far distant from their source. Another of the innumerable instances of the ornamental treatment of the Eusebian Canons is found in Royal MS 1 E. vi Brit Mus¹. In the ninth and tenth centuries occur others copied in all probability from earlier examples. In Greece itself the art began to decline immediately after the death of Justinian and it is generally supposed that the edicts of Leo III. the Isaurian (718-741) surnamed the Iconoclast, put an end to the practice of pictorial art. Mere linear and floral ornament however such as we see in Persian fabrics and in Arabesques was still permitted. Leo caused the library founded by Constantine and augmented by Theodosius and Justinian which contained the famous Homer written in gold letters the masterpiece of ancient chrysography, to be sifted of all books containing sacred images and they were destroyed it is said to the number of 50 000 volumes. A recent writer on Byzantine miniature art M. Kondakov says notwithstanding that if we may judge by analogy the Iconoclastic movement caused no real interruption. The art still went on by simple development. Yet we may add that by the beginning of the ninth century it had greatly declined. Many writers are inclined to agree that the true golden age of Byzantine painting was that which dawned upon the accession of the Macedonian dynasty. When Basil I. called the Macedonian ascended the throne of his *fainéant* predecessor the Lower Empire had entirely ceased to be Roman. Hence it was that the almost effete Byzantine art began to construct fundamental principles upon doctrinal authority out of the specific precepts of ancient or local usage. And not only so but instead of remaining as before confined to the capital it began to diffuse itself to the remotest confines of the Empire. It found its way into Asia Minor and was carried by conquest or commerce to Sicily, Italy and France. Wherever it appeared it was distinct self possessed and strongly featured and at first firmly resisted all local influences. At length it fixed itself as the basis of several national styles. Again miniatures executed at Constantinople were dispersed to East and West and became models of succeeding work. Partaking of the taste of their fellow craftsmen the enamellers and mosaicists the illuminators continued to introduce rich accessories of furniture jewellery and costume and thus

¹ THOMISON and WARNE: *Catalogue* part II pl 18 London 1884

not only attained a perfection and neatness of execution unsurpassed even in the fifteenth century, but made us their debtors for the chapters of description which their miniatures have superseded respecting the usages dress arms furniture and dwellings of our early mediæval ancestors. Their method of procedure was as follows —First and almost always they laid down on the vellum a thin leaf of gold which they burnished. On this they made the sketch carefully with pen and ink, and then a thick couch of body colour or *gouache* was laid on as in enamelling with a gummy varnish. This dried quickly, and another of a different or brighter tint was skilfully laid over it and again allowed to dry. Thus the process was continued from the darkest to the lightest tints until the work was completed the highest finish being given with pure white bright pale yellow, or liquid gold, or perhaps all three. The artist had need to be well skilled in handling his materials and knowing the effect of successive layers of colour. In the best time the dominant principle which prevailed even over the marked proficiency of drawing was a scrupulous regard to the harmonious relations of colours. The tints in general are bright resonant and boldly contrasted. At the same time the actual colours and hues of objects furniture, utensils, and buildings were ruthlessly ignored disregarded and sacrificed in the miniatures and only such colours employed as suited the scheme of the design and the artist's taste. Although we are aware that in more sunny lands houses are often bright with pure tints of rose or blue or violet still the waywardness of choice shown in these Byzantine edifices with their walls and terraces of pale rose pale green, or delicate orange is evidently systematic and predetermined. Whether from this source it passed into other styles of miniature or whether the same necessity gave rise to it as an independent conception an apparently utter disregard of the actual colours of objects is one of the most characteristic features of all earlier miniatures of every school. No more extreme instances perhaps, need be pointed out than the Celtic miniatures of the Irish Book of Kells, or those of the Saxon Visigothic Merovingian or Lombardic MSS. of the seventh and eighth centuries. The truth is that the miniature was accepted as no ideal and purely ornamental embellishment. If it could be rendered instructive the effort was praiseworthy, but at all cost of fidelity it must be made bright and, as the artist hoped beautiful. This was his aim whatever we

may now think of the result. No doubt the illuminator of the Sacramentary of the abbey of Gellone or of the Penitential of Tours intended to make his terrible atrocities attractive to the reader and perhaps sincerely thought he had succeeded. The colour-scheme is there. Everything is sacrificed to it. Splendour is sometimes sought in the excessive use of gold. In Byzantine miniature the intention is the same but the culture of the artist his power and dexterity of hand his knowledge of the true principles of harmony of plant and often of animal forms and indeed of nearly everything except true perspective are altogether of a higher grade. In perspective all ancient and most mediæval art still extant goes wrong. Greek Roman Byzantine Lombard Gothic all fail there is no exception. The principles of this most essential element of design were but vaguely guessed at while practically the most flagrant errors were committed. A man's eye must have warned him that the furthest of several vessels in a fleet should not be conspicuously larger than the nearest, yet the artist of the Vatican Vergil has made it so. The miniaturist of a Byzantine or Carolingian MS must have known that the farther side of a seat or footstool was not larger than the front. It is difficult to believe that he could imagine it to seem larger yet by some strange confusion of his senses he often makes it so. One would suppose that scarcely a child would make a man standing on a tower so disproportionate as to appear like a jack-in-the-box or a prison wall so low that Joseph is made to enter it by striding over yet numbers of mediæval miniatures some even as late as the fifteenth century display these peculiarities.

The Oriental and early practice of making the principal character larger to express dignity or superiority and the tendency more or less towards allegory may account for disproportion in figures but the linear perspective of the majority of mediæval artists is the result of sheer and even unaccountable ignorance. We can only suppose that working mostly by rule of thumb in the matter of technique the ordinary illuminator was an utterly servile copyist as regards form and composition.

The great impulse given to architecture by the magnificent projects of Basil I (867-886) naturally resulted in the revival of illumination. The mosaics of Santa Sophia and other ecclesiastical edifices became irresistible incentives to the production of beautiful MSS in which the splendour of Byzantine costume and accessories is combined with the

simpler elegance of classic motive and composition. A remarkable example occurs in a Psalter now in the National Library at Paris (no 139) which contains 14 miniatures of special historical importance. The explanation of the antique air and Pompeian colouring of this Psalter is that it is a copy of an ancient original executed by the methods laid down in the Byzantine manuals of painting. Four of the miniatures have become almost world famous through the constant reference of writers on Byzantine art. They are not more perfectly executed than the rest but they are more typical of their class of illumination. The first is David—the sweet singer of Israel—as a youth playing on a lute seated in the midst of an idyllic landscape in the character of Orpheus or Apollo. It is a classic Orpheus charming the denizens of the forest with his melody but vastly superior to the Orpheus of the Catacombs. The scene is Pompeian to its minutest details. David clothed like a Vergilian shepherd with flowing blonde tresses sits on a mound in the middle of the picture. Behind him on the same mound sits Melody with her left hand laid gracefully upon his right shoulder. She appears as the Muse of the rural games. On her head is a rose coloured fillet or stemma with a bright gem in front. Below to the right of the spectator is a figure called Mount Bethlehem—ΟΡΟΣ ΒΗΘΛΕΕΜ—clasp ing the stem of a tree. In the background is a mountainous landscape with an antique Italian villa called Bethlehem and among the trees a column with a vase at top wreathed with a red silken band. Behind this peeps the head of a figure called Echo intently listening to the music, the whole unquestionably an adaptation of a classical subject to a Biblical scene. The composition has been copied in all the later Psalters of the same family e.g. the Psalter of the Barberini Libr. Rome no 202 that of the Vatican Palat. no 381. The latter is reproduced by Kondakov in a sketched outline¹. The present miniature of the Paris Psalter appears as a woodcut in Woltmann². It has been often reproduced.

Personifications of abstract qualities which are among the typical characteristics of Byzantine miniature and which reach their climax in the later works of Simeon Metaphrastes and John Chymacus are here shown clearly to be an inheritance from classic art. In another miniature (no 4) of this Paris MS *The Fight between*

¹ *Il to redel 1st Byzant. cons. l'école principalement d' icônes miniatures*

11 31. Paris 1891

² WOLTMANN and WOZZEANY *History of Painting* 1. 6. 5

David and Goliath, a figure of winged power Διςμας, is seen assisting the youth while Vain glory Αλαζονεια, flies discomfited from the giant. Waagen, hastily judging from the defective composition of the lower part of the picture attributes it to a later hand, but Kondakov points out that the difference is due simply to the two fold origin of the subject.¹ But perhaps the most important though certainly not the most beautiful composition in the volume is (no. 7) *The exaltation of David as King*. Here he is represented of mature age standing in a majestic ceremonious attitude in the manner and what is more noticeable in the costume (as in the Rabula MS) of the Byzantine Emperor. If we could trust this school of miniature in portraiture we should doubtless see in this personage the traditional lineaments of Basil himself or of his son Leo the Philosopher, both enthusiastic patrons of art, or at least the contemporary figure of the monarch under whom the MS was executed.² We certainly see the stately ceremonial of the imperial court described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the details of the very apparel worn on this solemn occasion. The student may compare a much later example of the same ceremony of the presentation of the Emperor to the people in another MS in the Paris Library, (fonds Coislin no 79), reproduced by Montfaucon,³ and later from Montfaucon's engraving by Woltmann.⁴ This MS shows the utterly soulless petrification of the later work to which the Paris Psalter has not yet descended. The ceremonial picture represents a long series of what may be called dedicatory miniatures, extending from the later Roman consular figures of the ivory diptychs through the Carolingian and Othonian Gospel books down to the classic authors of the French Renaissance, the Venetian and Papal diplomas and the Spanish cartas de Hidalguia, and it is the first representation extant in any MS of the Imperial official ceremony. Lastly we must notice the 13th miniature not only because of its intrinsic merits but as being frequently confused with similar miniatures in other MSS, eg the Vatican MS 755, containing a commentary

¹ WAAGEN *Arbeiten und Künstler in Paris* iii. 20. Berlin 1839.
KONDAKOV ii. 33. LABARTE *Histoire des Arts Industriels* ed. ii. 33.
Paris 1873.

² LABARTE (ii. 449) suggests that the three figures given by him on pl. 4 from a MS (Greek 64) in the Nat. Libr. Paris are those of Romanus I. Jacapenus, Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the Virgin Mary.

³ *Bibliotheca Coisliniana* Paris i. 171.

⁴ *History of Painting* i. 299.

on Isaiah. The subject is *Isaiah praying at dawn*¹. Here the prophet stands in a somewhat formal attitude between the personification of Night a graceful, classically draped female and a child named *ορεος*. Night has a light gossamer or silken veil studded with golden stars which floats balloon like over her head. She holds in her hand a reversed torch, above her is the word *νύξ*. In the right upper corner is a hand from which a beam of golden rays streams down upon the nimbused head of Isaiah above whom is written vertically the name *ΗΣΑΙΑΣ* in Greek uncials. There are trees behind signifying that the scene takes place in the wilderness. The child carries a lighted torch on his left shoulder. It is remarkable that the nimbus about the head of Night as a celestial personage is blue that of Isaiah as a terrestrial is slate grey. Besides the miniatures the MS contains ornamental headings of flowers and fruits and some animals also some jewels in imitation of mosaic work and metal enamelling. These motives prove that the MS was executed before the decadence of the eleventh century when a kind of spasmodic imitation of Western fish and bird forms in the initials marks among other signs the utter degradation of this Basilian Byzantine style. The ornamental accessories are inherited from the Iconoclastic interval under the edicts of Leo III. and Theophilus. Those edicts did not as some writers have thought utterly forbid pictorial art but the representation of personages who might become the objects of idolatrous worship, and in this particular they had the sympathy and assistance of Charles the Great. On the other hand it is known from extant remains and from direct statement that Theophilus himself (829-842) had many churches decorated with arabesques figures of birds and other animals flowers and foliage and doubtless books might be ornamented in the same fashion*.

Previous to the eighth century MSS do not show historiated or pictured initials. There is no doubt that the edicts against image worship by forbidding the representation of saintly figures cut off a large source of income to many artists and so closed many ateliers in the Greek Empire. But the strong resistance to the imperial mandates and especially the resolute protest of Pope Gregory II prevented the catastrophe which seemed to

¹ Reproduced in *ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ* II 3~

See for example *MS* (Greek 63 and 64) in the Vatican Library. P r s T i l s are written in gold under square doorways or Π shaped designs decorated with sprays of foliage birds etc.

threaten this form of pictorial art. One good result—though a minor one—of the Edict of 728 was that it compelled a greater attention on the part of illuminators to pure linear ornament, and so developed a feature hitherto kept very subordinate but afterwards destined to play a very important part indeed. Thus an advance was made which only awaited the return of imperial patronage to become in all respects the richest style of book ornamentation hitherto invented. The advent of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056) afforded the necessary support and the second revival the golden age of Byzantine art was the splendid and immediate result. But unfortunately for the freedom of the individual artist a simultaneously popular monastic or hierarchical despotism laid hold of the painter's art with its vast capabilities for teaching as a weapon of ecclesiastical authority and submitted it to a system of regulations or method which in its technique its processes, and the selection of its subjects was as dogmatic as the spirit of that ascetic age could render it. The *Painters' Guide* now well known through the labours of M. Dron and the translation of M. Paul Durand was the embodiment of this Byzantine method on the precepts of which whilst still somewhat unsettled, were executed the MSS already described, but the really typical condensation of which is only exhibited to perfection in an example which remains to be mentioned. In the hands of the skilful masters whose practice formed its basis the Method shows little of its innate weakness but a time comes when originality is no longer possible and the conceptions of the artist are exchanged for the prescriptions of a rigid formulæ. Then it is that the painter's occupation sinks into a mere mechanical practice without thought and without life—a body without a soul.

Thus Byzantine art became a mere automaton. Within two centuries it had lost every throb of artistic power. Under the Latin emperors it lost its last semblance of movement, yet it lingered on age after age and still lingers as has been keenly said unable either to live or die. The ruling motive which influenced the first practitioners of this despotic guild was one born of their courtly training. It was a passion for splendid effect. The details are suggested from the sister arts both true daughters of Byzantine architecture—*enamelling and mosaic*. The miniaturist may copy antique models but he is restricted to a conventional way of copying. The antique imaginative personification of mountains, rivers and cities is for him a felicitous suggestion and is extended by the ascetic literal and arid

theology of the schools to all manner of abstract philosophical terms and monastic symbolisms down to and beyond the verge of the ludicrous and puerile. In the hands of the classic artist the personification was poetic vivid and original. In those of the illuminators of Chimaerus it becomes a formulated iconography of virtues and vices of clemency, reason, gratitude, humility, asceticism, malice, loquacity, in short of every conception that to the mind of the visionary compiler of the pictorial catalogue could take a literal or physical counterform. Their only salvation is that they have the conception on some classic model. Nevertheless it was under this Macedonian revival that the growing tendency to abstraction gave Byzantine miniature art that very universality which made it through the decentralisation which dispersed its models beyond the furthest limits of the Empire the groundwork of so many other national styles. It was during this period that the style was extended into Syria, Egypt, Calabria, and Ravenna. In Sicily it coalesces with Saracenic, in Venice and North Italy with Lombardic, in France and Germany with Romanesque. It gives consistency to the designs of prehistoric heritage among the Visigothic painters of Narbonne and the Celts of Durrow. There are mosaics at Monreale, Naples, and Venice exported from Constantinople or executed from cartoons by Byzantine artists. Among the important examples which the student able to visit foreign libraries might examine are three or four of really typical value as they embody in the most remarkable manner the features pointed out in the foregoing remarks. The first is a MS. which some writers have spoken of as the most precious and characteristic of all—the famous Menology or Passionale of the Vatican Library (MS. Gr. 1613). It is described by Platner,¹ Kondakov,² Seroux d'Agincourt³ and Labarte.⁴ It is part of a Calendar of the Saints containing the portion from September to February, illustrated with no fewer than 430 miniatures. Brought from Constantinople as a present to Ludovico il Moro, duke of Milan, it came through Cardinal Sfondrati into the hands of Pope Paul V. who in 1615 placed it in the Vatican Library. An edition with engravings of its miniatures was published early in the eighteenth century by Cardinal Albani.⁵

¹ *Beschreibung Ions ein Auszug etc.* p. 209. Stuttgart 1845.

² *Histoire de l'Art Byzantin* II. ch. viii.

³ *Peinture* pp. 55, 56; pl. xxxi, xxxii.

⁴ *Histoire des Arts en Russie* II. 181.

⁵ *Menologium Graecorum usque Basile Imperatorum Graeciae olim editum, etc.* 3 vols. Urb. no. 1^o 2^o.

In the reign of the literary Constantine Porphyrogenitus (911-959) the 3rd of the Macedonian emperors there was living a pious and industrious writer of patrician birth who by steady merit and perseverance had risen to be secretary first to the father of Constantine and afterwards to Constantine himself. This secretary the emperor urged to compile a collection of lives of the Saints to be gathered from all available sources native and foreign. The compilation after a long and patient exercise of true monastic industry placed side by side every obtainable instance of heroic virtue and every prodigy that could encourage or astonish the faithful reader. It is known as the *Passional* of Simeon surnamed *Metaphrastes* or the *Amplifier* from his skill in making up the innumerable biographies and stories of which his work is composed. For almost a century and whilst still without pictorial illustrations the work became increasingly popular but in the reign of Basil II (976-1025) it was admitted among the standard volumes to be illustrated by the court miniaturists. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries many copies were produced in Greece and Italy, and even in Asia. Sometimes it was divided into sections under different titles.¹ By the end of the ninth century, and during the author's lifetime had already appeared the type or abridgment of which the Vatican Menology is the most ancient specimen. It is looked upon as indeed the unique model from which all the rest have proceeded. Its historical importance rests—1 on its combining in itself all the resources of the painter's art and in representing its technique in its greatest perfection, 2 on its resuming in one scheme every precept of composition, and thus fixing the style of succeeding ages. If we limit the best period of Byzantine art to the three centuries from the tenth to the thirteenth this MS certainly is its best example. It is invoked by writers of all shades of critical opinion as the chief source and monument of Byzantine principles. Moreover it is a dated MS. A memorandum inserted within it informs us that it was executed at the instance of an emperor Basilus, who can be no other than Basil II.² It contains about half the entire number of miniatures, or at least those belonging to about half the year. The artists employed upon it were highly skilled artists, not merely monastic calligraphists, and they worked in concert. The names of the

¹ J. A. FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca Graeca* x 141

² UGHELLI *Italia Sacra*, vi, 1019 Venetijs 1711 22

different authors of the miniatures are inscribed upon them and recur almost alternately. Of course they are somewhat unequal in execution nevertheless the evenness of method and process is conspicuous. Again the work seems almost certainly to have been executed at Constantinople, as two or three of the artists belonged to the district of the Palace of Blacherna or perhaps to the Palace itself near the Leonine bridge. The architectural backgrounds with their cupolas and porticoes and arcades of coloured marbles then gigantic aqueducts flat roofed villas, and two storied houses with open colonnades recall the magnificence of the opulent capital of the East. One pre-occupation it is clear, is in the mind of every artist—the production of a splendid work. But in all the splendour of costume and ornament we cannot but notice a monotonous defect of originality, nor can we find evidence of any valuable mental quality personal to the artist. He is an accomplished and dexterous manipulator and that is all. His models had to be imitated—his method tells him how—and he faithfully performs his task. As to the design entire series of saints of both sexes recur page after page, all standing in similar attitudes of ceremony under porticoes with curtains—put briefly to represent a temple—a motive of decoration which already appears in the mosaics of Salonica and Ravenna. In some cases the landscape is made quite independent of the action a sort of ready-made background in which such scenes are prescribed to occur, indicating a similar condition of veracity to that of the old Nuremberg chronicle woodcuts where the same city does equally well for Augsburg or Koeln the same battle scene for Cannæ Zama or Chalons. It is the abstract truth or spirit of events rather than the events themselves which the Byzantine miniaturists set themselves to depict. Scenes of martyrdom are placed in the midst of mountain solitudes, and headless bodies and praying saints are made to suggest the nature of the occurrence. The designer, conscious of the repulsive nature of his subject softens its unpleasantness by the brilliant accessories of dress and ornament, by bright sparkling colours and burnished gold. There is a stated expression for each particular set of personages. In ordinary cases the type is easily recognised. A long and somewhat aquiline nose—the eyebrows forming one continuous line—a wrinkled anxious forehead, thin lips drawn downwards at the corners, the visage oval the complexion pallid or sun burnt. Youths wear their hair in tresses, elderly people

short and sometimes tufted. In the ninth and tenth centuries the prevailing Byzantine taste as to hair was for blonde auburn or red a taste afterwards adopted with other Byzantine matters by the Venetians. In the lower classes of persons the forehead is low and beetling in the upper especially among ecclesiastics high and bald.

In the earlier miniatures of the Macedonian revival the general expression among martyrs is calm and resolute and even happy the glance usually turned aside. In the decadence the expression becomes haggard and sorrowful sometimes agonised showing a complete departure from the conception of the martyr spirit or else an aim at realism in departing from the mechanical canon of the Manual. From the Menology and other examples we learn that the facial types are not Roman, but derived from those of ancient Greece for instance in the broad and rather low forehead but in place of the gentle arch of the the old Greek eyebrow, we have the horizontal frown (σινεφ, Οἷσττ) of the later Georgian and Armenian races historically emphasised in the features of the usurper Johannes Ducas called from this peculiarity 'Murtzophilic'. The large Greek eye (βῆμα πικρὸν ἦν) with its shadowy mystic gaze as in the Ludovisi Hera and the Zeus of Pheidias becomes first a look of dignified indifference and then a stony and expressionless stare still more wildly exaggerated in Romanised Celtic and Carolingian types. The fine athletic figure of the Antinous has become meagre and attenuated, the consequence of an ascetic supposed to be holy contempt of life. The nose is pinched and avaricious, the mouth not ample and beautiful withal but pursed and doll like with no expression beyond the insolent pout of the underlip. In female saints the gesture is precisely the reverse of that given in classic sculpture. To express a womanly figure the Roman sculptor selects the moment of a bride removing her veil with her right hand. The Byzantine painter prefers that of a novice on entering conventual life who draws her veil over her face with her left hand. Extant examples of Byzantine miniature are exceedingly numerous. Kondakov gives a list of nearly two hundred MSS and Bordier gives others. In conclusion it may be said that whilst rapidly decaying after the close of the Macedonian dynasty still some remains of Comnenian miniature (1057-1183) are not altogether destitute of artistic value. But after the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 and during the French occupation the

subject is no longer deserving of serious study. By the fifteenth century all idea of beauty and even technical skill had faded from Byzantine work.¹

CHARACTERISTICS OF BYZANTINE ART

FIGURE—Founded on antique models but adapted to a regular and inflexible canon almost indeed as rigid as that of the Egyptians and Assyrians. Action stiff and formal, expression unvaried for each type of character.

Drapery at first classical afterwards inferior in drawing, but enriched with embroideries and jewels.

LANDSCAPE ETC—Mostly imitated from the antique often seeming as if studied direct from Nature. Frequently quite independent of the action. Buildings in the style of Pompeian villas in the older work but representing the architecture of Constantinople in the later. Architectural backgrounds with cupolas and arcades of coloured marbles.

ORNAMENT—Borders of miniatures at first but slightly ornamented. Foliate linear ornaments, arabesques, birds, etc. introduced during the Iconoclastic period under the emperor Theophilus. Initials of several coloured portions some formed of fantastic animals birds etc., always outlined or enriched with gold. After Theophilus headings become richly arabesqued.

TECHNIC—In most instances the miniature is painted on a ground of leaf gold. Colours bright varied and mixed with a viscid and varnish like medium probably of egg yolk and gum sometimes so thick as to scale off with age and use. Methods of working laid down in a system called the *Guide to Painting*, and containing strict and invariable rules both as to materials manipulation, and subject.

¹ See for example the MS sent as a token of friendship and received in its place to the Abbey of St Denis by Manuel I Palæologus II in 1479.

MANUSCRIPTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF BYZANTINE MINIATURE ART

Name	Location	Date	Remarks.
Rabula Gospel book.	Laurentian Library Florence	880	Written at Zagba Mesopotamia.
Fragment of Gospels	Brit Mus. Add. 3111	6th cent	Most latest fragment painted on gold ground
Topography of Constantinople	Vatican Libr Gr 679	9th cent	Copy of an older MS
Menology	Vatican Libr., Gr 1613		In 2 vols. A typical example.
Greek Psalter	Nat. Libr Paris Gr 139	" "	Very fine antique motives
Gregory of Nazianzus	" " Gr 510	"	Fine antique motives
" "	" " Gr 343	"	Good small figures
" "	" " Gr 550	" "	Do and headings
Terence	" " La* 7609	"	Antique copy of early MS
Gospel-book	Brit Mus. Arund. 547		
" "	" Burn. 19 20		
Gospel Lectionary	" Harl. 5406.	10th cent	A.D. 995 Fine initials
St. Chrysostom	Nat. Libr. Paris Gr 64	" "	Remarkable initials.
Symeon Metaphrastes	Brit. Mus. Add 11370	11th cent	Beautiful ornaments
Gregory of Nazianzus	Vat Libr Gr 463.	"	Finished 1063
Gospel book.	Brit Mus. Add 11838	"	Beautiful headings
Psalter	" " Egert 1129	11th cent	Executed for Melisende daughter of Baldwin king of Jerusalem.
Gospels.	" " Harl 4369	"	
"	" " Add. 26103.		
"	" " " 7740		
"	" " Harl 6731		
"	Vat Libr., Urbino 2.	12th cent.	Finished 1125
"	" " Gr 756.	"	
"	Ambros. Libr Milan	13th cent	
"	Nat Libr Paris, Gr 64	"	

The above is only a very small selection from the lists of Bordier, Kondakov, and others. A large number of Byzantine MSS are kept at the convent on Mount Sinai in the National Library, Paris in the Vatican and in the Synodal Library, Moscow

IV

CELTIC AND OTHER EARLY STYLES, AND THEIR
COMBINATIONS

About the same time that Justinian was restoring and enriching his capital on the Bosphorus, a missionary prince of the Royal House of Niall was entering on his youthful studies at the monastery of Durrow in Ireland. Those who deny any Roman influence on Celtic illumination may ask themselves how this Durrow monastery came into existence? Christianity, according to the Abbé MacGroghegan, was not unknown in Ireland in the fourth century.¹ Some have gravely asserted that the Gospel was first brought by Simon Zelotes who, they say, was crucified in Britain, such indeed is the account given in some copies of the Greek Menology. It is contradicted however, by the Roman Breviary and the Martyrologies of Bede, Usuardus and Ado. Simcon Metaphrastes attributes the introduction of Christianity to St. Peter, Vincent of Beauvais to St. James. Some old writers tell of St. Mansuetus a disciple of St. Peter, as one of the earliest missionaries, others speak of at least four bishops who were predecessors of St. Patrick. But whilst we reserve our belief in these traditions we cannot but notice that they all point to a great probability of the very early knowledge of Christianity by the Irish. It is possible that the two royal book lovers mentioned above may never have heard of each other, but there came a time when the streams of artistic culture which they severally set running, met and mingled and it will be the business of this chapter to trace the course of Irish art until it is made subordinate to the new elements thus brought into contact with it.

The juncture forms the basis of a reconstruction which is coincident with the great literary quickening called the Carolingian Renaissance. It is not material to us whether Ireland was christianised by an authorised Roman bishop or by private missionary enterprise. The fact important to us is that about the middle of the sixth century an Irish prince, one of the most illustrious of Irish saints led a small band of zealous Christian workers across the sea from Donegal to the Isle of Hy or Iona. He was a descendant of Niall the Great King of Ireland, and son of

¹ *Histoire de l'Irlande ancienne et moderne* t. 1 155 Paris, 1758

In the early Christian MSS, executed under the influence of classic models, the "Incipit" of a volume and the first few words or lines of the text were simply and plainly written in a larger hand, and in a different ink, usually red, whilst the earliest Oriental MSS have an ornamental panel across the top of the page, containing in a more ornate script the title of the work. The lettering of early Italian MSS, e.g. the Ambrosian Homer is exceedingly clear, neat, and legible. On the other hand, the most ancient Celtic MSS as this Iona Gospel book of 590, have the first page entirely covered with ornament. On the next page the first letters are of a gigantic size and a few following words are written in letters varying from half an inch to two inches in height. It must have been a reference to letters of these dimensions and of a date earlier than any extant MSS that gave rise to the Roman name of uncial. Then again in the Gospel book the page opposite to each Gospel is also filled with ornament of intricate patterns in the midst of which is modelled a Greek cross. This suggests that Pachomius or Basil rather than Augustine or Benedict was the founder of the Irish monastic rule. The lettering though large is by no means easily legible, owing to the strange and fanciful shapes into which the Roman or Greek characters are distorted. In reply to the statement sometimes made that the oldest Celtic ornament shows no sign of Roman or Byzantine influence in this MS now usually known as the Book of Kells we find both the Greek cross and the arcade (as in the Add MS. 5111) of the Eusebian canons quite similar to those of the Rabula MS and other examples of early Byzantine execution. The details alone are indigenous and unquestionably very much so. They belong to a class of ornament common in prehistoric times to all Aryan races. Dr K. Lamprecht in a most elaborate essay on Initial ornament¹ endeavours to prove that a similar kind of decoration prevailed in Germany before any contact with Irish work was known. He goes on to analyse it and to tell us how it was developed from the point and line by successive steps of natural progression or suggestion. This may be quite possible and may explain the origin of a good deal of barbaric ornament. But it can scarcely be doubted that the art of pattern weaving or plaiting, perpetuated in the Scottish plaid, for which the Celts have always been famous had much to do with the penwork

¹ *Initial Ornamentik des VIII bis XIII Jahrhunderts* Leipzig 1832
With numerous illustrations

designs of early Irish MSS. As for the evolution of the serpent the swan the greyhound etc. and of various forms suspiciously like leaves of plants we know that practically it is quite common in mere brushwork to imitate ornamental foliage without any reference to plant forms by simple strokes of the brush variously emphasized. Coincidences of this kind are always possible. The fact that the basis of Irish ornament is geometrical is sufficient to show that the ideas gradually developed on the stone monuments and derived originally from the rude carvings and weavings of prehistoric savages may have occurred quite similarly at the same stages to the forerunners of classic art and so brought the patterns of Roman tiles and mosaics into coincidence, more or less exact with those of Irish MSS and ancient Teutonic monuments. This consideration should serve to reconcile the very different opinions of writers like Westwood who strongly adheres¹ to the indigenous non-classic interference theory and Fleury² who as rigidly insists that the Celtic Frankish and Visigothic illuminators owed their knots and interlacements to the sculptures and mosaics of ancient Roman remains.

The elements then of Irish calligraphy are such as were in use among prehistoric tribes in textile art viz. plaiting hand weaving etc. in zigzags knots and interlacings and at a later period in metal work including studs, bosses frets and finials, all of which are imitated in the penwork of the MSS. Terminals of bird or serpent form combine with linear designs merely as ornament. The dog and dragon are common and indicate a coincident and perhaps racial relation to the archaic Greek vase ornaments before these fell under the influence of Western Asia. Among Celtic as among Frankish Teutonic and Italic artists the practice of the same hand working in various materials was common. Thus Digois (d. 586 the year in which the Syriac Gospel Book was finished) was a calligraphist and also an expert worker in metals. The pen-drawing of the Book of Kells and other cognate MSS suggests precisely the same combination of skill. Dunstan in England Elgius in France Fuotila in German Switzerland displayed similar versatility. When the human figure is introduced it is subjected to the same geometrical or symmetrical arrangement as the linear

¹ This was written before the death of that venerable and accomplished archaeologist.

² *Les Manuscrits à Minatures de la Bibliothèque de Laon* t. 8 Laon 1863.

patterns. The hair and beard are arranged in spirals the eyes and nostrils become flourishes of the pen. The limbs are symmetrically balanced. The colouring also follows the same plan, the limbs hair and draperies being remorselessly patterned out in blue or green or red as the *tout ensemble* of the ornament may require.

The colours employed in Celtic MSS are paled yellow paled lake or rose violet paled blue and paled bright green. I say paled and not pale as the tints are designedly lightened not used in their normal intensities except on occasion. The blue and red are opaque and probably of mineral origin the rest are transparent. For example the four symbolic beasts of the Gospels which were the favourite illustrations are always so treated. In the *Evangelarium* or Gospel book of St Columbanus of the sixth century the lion is covered with green and red lozenge shaped scales. Hands and faces are often left uncoloured and shading is never attempted. A good example of the usual treatment of a figure page is the St John of the Gospel book of Mael Brith Mac Durnan, now in the Lambeth Archbishopial Library. There is a reproduction of it in Westwood's *Palaeographia*¹ the same page is given by Humphreys² and by Woltmann³. In estimating the general character of a style it is necessary to take into consideration the features exhibited during an extended period of time. But in Irish work the two centuries or more which lie between the Book of Durrow and the Gospels of Mael Brith Mac Durnan make very little difference. Perhaps there is a trifle less of band work and more of the mosaic pattern yet this is not distinctly so. The real advance from the sixth to the tenth century was in the introduction of gold and silver. In the earliest examples the colouring is rich and sometimes harmonious the technique is skilful, and the manipulation especially as regards the pen nothing less than marvellous. The pen work really suggests mechanical helps of some kind. The coils or spirals are so exact that they might well have been printed off the edge of a finely coiled wire or steel watch spring if such a thing had then been known. The grounds are often black and the design put on in red blue green and yellow while the border frames are grounded in tender tones of violet and rose, but gold appears to be unknown or at any rate it is quite excluded. Even in

¹ *Palaeographia sacra pictoria* pl 13. The figure pages of St. Matthew and St. Luke and the beginning of St. Mark's Gospel are reproduced on plate 9 of the same author's *Facsimiles of the Illuminations and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS* London 1968.

² *The Art of Illumination* London, 1847.

³ *History of Painting* I 101.

the page just cited of the Lambeth Gospels, a MS dated from the ninth century there is no gold. Mael Brith Mac Durnan was abbot of Derry and bishop of Armagh from 883 to 927. The MS was presented to Canterbury Cathedral by King Athelstan. A contemporary note informs us that Mael brith son of Durnan worthily expounded this text by the aid of the Trinity, and Athelstan King and Ruler of the English Saxons gives the look to the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury for ever. It is however very probable that the MS was an old one when given to the king and acquired by rather than executed for Mael Brith and the absence of gold seems to confirm this opinion.

The Book of Durrow is a venerable Gospel book once claimed as the work of St Columba. Together with the wonderful Book of Kells it is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. The internal evidence goes to prove that neither of them is as old as the sixth century but they must have existed in the seventh or very early in the eighth, as they are manifestly older than the Gospel Book of Lindisfarne, now in the British Museum (Nero D IV), which was executed between 698 and 721. In these very early books it was the practice to begin as already mentioned with a page or even several pages of ornament, used either for its own sake or for the most elaborate embellishment of the commencing words.

In the Book of Kells six pages are taken up with the words *Liber generationis Christi* in the way of combinations monograms or inclavings of the letters the Λ Π Γ or monogram of Christ forming the subject of the entire last page. This page is the very climax and culmination of all calligraphic art. It has never been equalled for variety, intricacy and unflinching dexterity of execution but its taste and pattern are more than half barbaric. The letters are however, of a bold and even elegant form sometimes quaintly varied but always pictorial and ingeniously combined. The page commencing St Mark's Gospel is very beautiful, plated work spirals, birds and animals forming part of the ornamentation. The text most curiously banded together runs somewhat thus,

Finit

argumentum evangelii secundum
Mattheum .. Incipiunt breves can-
tiones
secundum Marcum
& ERATIO
HANNIS BAPTIZANS IHM ET VE-
nit supereum sps di et fustis in deserto

The pennan however barbarous his taste, as regards the forms of animals and the details of his patterns had an uncommon sense of balance and a true feeling for the treatment of surface decoration. Here are delicacy judgment, precision, and no little display of perhaps his greatest gift imagination. The exquisite proportion between the intricate masses and the broad plain borders and the fine distribution of the narrow bands, is most wonderful. Certainly no half civilized Maori or Hawaiian could reach this. The Irish clergy of the seventh century must have been men of culture and they must have met somehow with Roman art. The "Incipit" of St Luke's Gospel in the MS now before us is a masterpiece of design. The upper part of the text is dark brown the lower rather pale, then comes an ornamental line and the text —

quoniam iniqui plantat et qui inrigat
unum sunt qui autem incrementum
prestat deus est. Incipit evangelium
eangelii secundum lucanum
LUCAS SYRUS NATIONE
antiochenus artemedius de
cipulus apostolorum

A change is made in the word *sunt* to make it harmonize with the initial *L* and then to balance the *sunt*. A change is also made in the *tum* of *incrementum*. The division of the words in the text to the beginning of St John's Gospel has a curious effect upon the Latin, and reminds one of Mr Pickwick's famous Cobham inscription —

HIC EST IOHANNIS EVANGELIUM deducendum

The commencement of St Mark's Gospel after the capitula is also very chaste and well designed for effect.

But no clear idea can be formed without seeing the originals or consulting some book of reproductions and of these by far the best is the work. Celtic ornaments from the Book of Kells.¹ Many of these rather Irish MSS

¹ Dublin 1892-94. In this work the principal pages and some of the most remarkable initials are reproduced by the isochromatic method, by which the proper balance of light and shade is to some extent preserved. Enlargements are given of portions. Until now all attempts to reproduce the ornaments of this book in colour have been failures (see Walswood, *Palaeographia* pl 16 and 17. *Facsimiles*, pl 8 to 11). There are reproductions too, in J. T. GIBBIERT, *Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland* pl vii-xvii. Dublin 1874. Portions are given in M. STOKES, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*. London, 1887, and one, the famous XPI page, in *Vetusta Monumenta*.

were not only richly ornamented in the text but were preserved in decorated cases or shrines called *cumdachs*. Of this kind is the Gospel Book called the Book of St Moling now in the Library of Trinity College Dublin. It formerly belonged to the Kavanagh family of Borris in the county of Carlow. Another Gospel book called the Garland of Howth contains only interlacings without the spirals and panellings and the colours are simply green yellow and red. The figures of the Evangelists in this MS are very curious. In the book of Armagh the lines of large letters are written on the white vellum and the spaces between the letters filled with colour pale violet pale yellow and red the line being bordered with a row of red dots one of the seldom missing characteristics of Irish calligraphy. The letters are not capitals but enlarged minuscules. The Armagh Gospel book was written about 807 by Ferdomnach a scribe of the church of Armagh, who died in 844. A later example occurs in the so called Psalter of Ricemarch Bishop of St. David's (1089-96). The border frames are red yellow and green and attenuated serpents and birds are among the band work. Some traces of silver are found in the lettering. It is now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It should be observed that the name Psalter does not necessarily mean a Book of Psalms in the sense we usually attach to the word. For instance the famous Psalter of Tara is so-called because of its metrical character but it is really a book of records or annals. MacGeoghegan gives a good description of its character and use¹. Briefly it was a sort of register of the transactions of the grand council of Tara or Teamor and being composed in a sort of rhythmic prose may be imagined to be something like the famous poems of Ossian. Copies of the original were laid up in the different cathedral churches under the care of the bishops. They were named after the locality as the Psalter of Ardmac the Psalter of Cluan MacNois etc. About 900 a partial copy of the Tara Psalter with original addition was made by Cormac archbishop of Cashel who became king of Munster. Examples of this famous compilation known as the Psalter of Cashel were still extant when Keating wrote his Irish history early in the seventeenth century but all are now said to be lost.

Early traditions are unanimous in assigning the most famous relics to the hands of distinguished saints and

¹ *Histoire de l'Irlande* t. 104

hence several of the most ancient books are attributed either to St. Patrick or to St. Columba. Certainly no more energetic gospellers ever undertook the spreading of Christianity than the Irish monks. The names of Columba Aidan Columbanus Gallus Cataldus Kieran, Fridolin, Fiachra, and others, attest the establishment of famous Irish foundations in which very many important MSS which still remain were produced. The lists given by Lamprecht Rahn and others present an immense hoard of books, the majority of which are remarkable for their very peculiar and distinguishable calligraphy. Cahier F Denis Reeves Rahn and Keller give us many interesting details concerning these foundations and the MSS produced in their scriptoria and MacGeoghegan abridges from the older writers the lives of the Irish missionary saints. The number is by no means inconsiderable for from the earliest years of Irish Christianity monasticism seems to have formed a distinguished feature of the religious system of the country.

In the fifth and sixth centuries the number of monastic foundations in Ireland was so great that she was called 'Insula Sanctorum' and the Thebaid of the West. It was sufficient in those days to have been in Ireland to earn the title of saint and become at once the founder of an abbey. Irish foundations were indeed almost innumerable. MacGeoghegan's list is enormous.¹ But the great historic merit of Ireland is her early zeal for the evangelization of Europe. Her missionaries carried the Gospel into Scotland, England, Brittany, France, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, where they laid the foundation of many religious houses. And with their Gospel they carried their own Gospel books and their calligraphic art, traceable long afterwards in the books produced by their successors. We have referred to Iona. In 634 this mission was extended to Lindisfarne. And now took place that modification of the style of Irish book ornament which transformed it into Saxon English. Aidan, or Lindisfarne, the apostle of Northumbria, accepted the episcopacy in the year of the extension. He died in 651 and was followed by a succession of Irish clergy, a fact which no doubt had much to do with the retention of the peculiar features of Irish art among the details of Saxon calligraphy. St. Cuthbert probably the last of the Irish bishops was appointed in 685 and Eadfrith who followed

¹ *Histoire de l'Irlande*, i, 280, etc.

him and whose name indicates an English origin desiring to do honour to the memory of his predecessor wrote a great Gospel book which has since by tradition and otherwise become very famous as the Lindisfarne or St Cuthbert's Gospels, or the Durham Book. It was finished about 700 and is written on 258 leaves of vellum in large folio. The text is St Jerome's version of the New Testament like that of the Book of Kells which MS the illuminator of the Lindisfarne Gospels appears to have seen and imitated. It differs however in some important points. From a gloss or note in the book itself it appears that notwithstanding what has been said about its various artists etc the whole credit of the internal execution of the work belongs to Eadfrith. His successor Aethelwold had it sumptuously bound in covers for which the anchorite Bilfrith made the fine goldsmithwork. Each gospel has with the title in golden letters the symbol of its author — *Mattheus imago hominis* *Marcus imago leonis*

Lucas imago vituli *Joannes imago aquilae*. The first page of each Gospel and the *Liber Generationis* in St. Matthew and that of the first preface on pages 2 26 28 94 138 and 210 are in large letters of most elaborate forms with borders and other ornaments and on a separate leaf in front of each Gospel and the first preface is painted a full page ornamental design constructed on the form of a cross. The Eusebian canons are placed under arcades or between richly decorated pillars spanned by arches. The motive of the ornament is the same as in the Book of Kells. The colouring is mostly bright of a light tint and thickly laid on. The artist had certainly seen some Roman or Byzantine Gospel book by which he essayed to profit but being hitherto accustomed to Irish work only adopted the arcade and its ornaments the realistic portrait miniatures and the use of gold on these in a restricted way. All the remaining figures of men and beasts are still treated as pure ornament a proof that though the work is executed under Saxon influence it is not yet true Saxon. The large letters are usually surrounded by a single or double fringe of red dots while blue lions or green men are not yet felt to be offensively unnatural. On the paler colours of the border frames are placed tracts of white dots which are sometimes also scattered over the plain surfaces. The figures of the evangelists are evidently taken not from the Book of Kells but from some book executed in the South of Europe. Until the dissolution of the monasteries this famous MS was kept at Lindisfarne and Durham. It is

now in the British Museum (Cotton MSS, Nero D. iv) and has often been described.¹ This volume is one of the first which show the contact of Irish with Byzantine miniature art. The books brought in 596 to Canterbury by Augustine were most probably a combination of Roman figure painting and architectural detail, with Byzantine gold and jewel-work. Possibly the British Museum MS. Add. 5111, may give some idea of the style of these books which, according to a list still preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge, consisted of "a Bible in two volumes, a Psalter, a Gospel-book, a Martyrology, Apocrypha, Lives of the Apostles, and an exposition of certain Gospels and Epistles" The catalogue closes with the words "these are the foundations of the whole English Church, A.D. 601." The monastery founded at Canterbury by St. Augustine was dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul, but afterwards it became universally known by its appellation of St. Augustine's. Being the first of English religious houses of Roman origin, it obtained rare and special privileges. The abbot took his place in general councils next to the abbot of Monte Cassino, the first Benedictine house in Europe, and the monastery itself was recognized as being under the immediate jurisdiction of Rome. As to the books, the Bible was written on purple and rose-coloured vellum with rubricated initials, and was carefully preserved down to the reign of James I. It was Westwood's opinion in 1845 that the purple Latin Gospels of the British Museum, Roy. MS. I. E. vi was one of the identical volumes sent by St Gregory, but Sir M. D. Wyatt afterwards pointed out that this MS contained too many genuine Saxon features to permit that supposition. It may, however, have been a Saxon copy of it.

The two Psalters have disappeared. Some have thought the Cottonian MS. Vesp. A. 1 (Brit. Mus.) to be one of them, but this opinion too has been shown to be untenable.² They may perhaps have been executed by artists from Rome, assisted by native English converts, hence the mixture

¹ THOMPSON and WARNER, *Catalogue of Ancient Latin MSS in the British Museum*. WAAGEN, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, i. 36. ASTIF, *The origin and progress of Writing*, 2 ed., pl. xiv. SHAW, *Illuminated Ornaments*, pl. ii. HUMPHREYS, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, pl. i. WESTWOOD *Facsimiles*, pl. vii, xiii. *Palaeographical Society's Publications*, p. 3-6, 22. F. W. UGLER, *Irish Ornament, etc.*, in *Revue Celtique*, i.

² Modern facsimiles of a page and single letters from this MS occur in the library collection, nos. 7355, 7442-44. A cut from one of the miniatures is given in GREEN, *A short History of the English People*, p. 64. London, 1892.

of styles. It is a curious fact that Vesp. A. 1 combines the brushwork method of Imperial Roman times as seen in the Vatican Vergils, etc., and the calligraphic peculiarities of the Celtic Gospel books. Some venerable fragments are preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. They are written in black ink, with an occasional use of *m m m*. Of the actual illumination only two mutilated pages remain, one containing the figure of St. Luke seated beneath an arched portico in the manner of the diptychs, the other a number of square *storiottes* as in the Cottonian Genesis or Arundel Psalter 83, separated by a red line ruling, like that of some of the later Byzantine MSS.

During the century that elapsed between the coming of St. Augustine and the production of the St. Cuthbert Gospels, many zealous Christian travellers had brought their treasures of beautiful books. One of these now exists in the splendid Latin Gospels not long ago transferred from the Hamilton Library to the collection of Mr. Quaritch. A facsimile and description of this venerable relic is given in the sale catalogue.¹ It is supposed by Wattenbach to have been executed for St. Wilfrid, archbishop of York (670-80) but most probably was written about the middle of the eighth century. Our space forbids us to enlarge on the acquisitions of Benedict Biscop, Wilfrid Theodore and others; but the effect of the quantity of Greek and Latin books, both classical and theological, thus acquired was the rapid formation of a specific native school of miniature. Taking the Irish details as the first motives of the decoration the native calligraphist we cannot yet call him a painter, as he seems scarcely to have used the brush, attempts boldly to imitate or to suggest with the pen the broad brushwork of the miniatures of these foreign books, and while thus becoming thoroughly emancipated from the barbaric usage of earlier periods—common alike to Britain, Ireland, Gaul, and Spain—of employing the living figure as a symmetrical piece of ornament, he succeeded in producing such characteristic pen drawing as we see in the Bodley Cædmon and the Utrecht Psalter. Many were the English foundations where the scriptoria were of primary importance, from Maiddulph's Burg or Malmesbury, the favourite retreat of St. Aldhelm to Llancarvan where in 519, St. David had founded a notable school of calligraphy, and where Gildas the Wise used to

¹ *Catalogue of MSS. on vellum chiefly from the famous Hamilton collection etc.* pp. 1-4. 1889. Two pages are reproduced in facsimile in B. QUARITCH *Examples of the Art of Book Illumination during the Middle Ages*. London 1889.

lecture until the troubles caused by the "dragons of Germany" compelled him to retire. The great scriptorium at York was also one of the busiest, and its library one of the richest in the land. Cahier in his notes on *Medæval Libraries*¹ gives a list of the principal works once belonging to the library founded or enlarged by St. Wilfrid. The five journeys to Rome made by St. Benedict Biscop enriched the monastery at Wearmouth and made it towards the end of the sixth century a most important centre of learning. Exeter, Oxford, Gloucester, St. Alban's, Westminster and other places rapidly added to the growing wealth of books until in the eighth century England was looked upon as the very home of literary culture. It has been bitterly said that the zeal of SS. Benedict Biscop, Wilfrid, Aldhelm, and the rest only resulted in collecting the valuable spoil of other countries into English monasteries in order that at one stroke the Danes might annihilate civilization. But after the severest losses inflicted by those demons of barbarism England was never without books or without the arts, the constant exercise of which

emollit mores nec sinit esse feros

From first to last it has been calculated that the ferocious savages of the North demolished no fewer than 30 monastic houses with all they contained. Buckingham² and Cahier³ give the list of their names.

Turning to the other side of this picture as some set off to the destruction caused by the Norsemen we find monasteries founded by Irish missionaries in all directions. The more noted of the foundations begun by these men were carefully furnished with scriptoria as essential to their system. Those commenced by St. Columbanus (who must not be confounded with St. Columba) at Luxeuil and Bobbio, by St. Gall at St. Gall, by St. Boniface and St. Kilian at Wurzburg, by St. Fridolin at Chur, and by St. Cata'dus at Tarentum, and many others were thus furnished and always kept busily at work. These houses were the founders of others so that in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, France, and the Netherlands the remains of Irish art are exceedingly numerous. By the concentration of various collections Irish manuscripts are found where the traveller would scarcely expect to meet with them as in the Ambrosian Library at Milan the

¹ In CAHIER and MARTIN, *Nouveaux Usages d'Archéologie*, 1 p. 30, note 7. PARIS, 1877.

² *The Elements of the History of the Monks of the British Isles*.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

University Library of Turin, and the Royal Library at Naples as well as in collections such as the Abbey Library of St. Gall which have never been dispersed Irish MSS occur more sparsely at Schaffhausen where in the minister's library is kept a specially fine copy of Adamnan's Life of St Columba of c 700 AD and at Trèves Zurich and Basle The student who wishes to pursue the study of this peculiar style of calligraphy will find ample materials in one or other of the following works some of which have been already referred to —

CELTIC ORNAMENTS from the Book of Kells *Autotypes*
Dublin 1892-94

WESTWOOD J O—Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts
Chromolithogr London 1868

HUMPHREYS H N—The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages
Chromolithogr London 1844-49

KELLER F—Illuminations and facsimiles from Irish Manuscripts in the Libraries of Switzerland (Translated from the German by W REEVE) 5 (3 *chromolithogr*) 1: The Ulster Journal of Archaeology, vol. 8 Belfast, 1860

O'NEILL H—The Fine Arts and Civilization of ancient Ireland (Chap VII Illuminated Manuscripts) London 1863

WEIDMANN F—Geschichte der Bibliothek von St. Gallen St. Gallen, 1841

UNGER F W—On Irish Ornament in *Revue Celtique*, 1, 12 Paris 1870

LAMPECHT K—Initial Ornamentik des VIII bis VIII Jahrhunderts. 44 *lithogr* Leipzig 1882 Gives a very full list of Celtic and Carolingian MSS

KELLER, F—Bilder und Schriftzüge in den Irischen Manuscripten der Schweizerischen Bibliotheken
Lithogr Zurich, 1851

WATTENBACH W—*In Zeitschrift für Christliche Archäologie und Kunst* 1 21-29 Leipzig 1856

GILBERT J F—Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland *Photocopy and chromolithogr* 3 vols. in 5 Dublin, 1874-84

STOKES Margaret—Early Christian Art in Ireland
Cuts London 1887

CHARACTERISTICS OF CELTIC ILLUMINATION

FIGURE—Always more or less symbolic. Either treated as pure ornament and made symmetrical and decorative, or simply barbaric like the drawing of the Polynesian islanders. The colouring also barbaric, or as part of a system of pattern decoration.

LANDSCAPE—Not attempted. The calligraphic artist confined himself to symbolic action by symbolised rather than natural personages. A few animals sometimes introduced, but no trees or other objects of external Nature.

ORNAMENT—Purely constructive and mainly calligraphic. The designs consist of plaited band and knot work, in imitation of weaving, and of spirals bosses etc. in imitation of fine metal work. Contorted and attenuated forms of animals natural and mythological are introduced and combined with the bandwork. Among recognizable forms are those of the serpent dog eagle dove, etc. The various elements are combined into all kinds of rhythmical or symmetrical patterns, most faultlessly executed. The initial letters are generally finished with marginal rows of red dots and the frame panels arranged in well balanced and often sweetly coloured compartments.

TECHNIC—The execution chiefly consists in pen work in black or coloured inks. The bands and frames are painted in various colours often harmoniously arranged. The colours, usually are *paled* green red violet and yellow, intense black and white but *no gold*. The red is sometimes clear and deep. The vehicle or medium is firm and smooth, but less viscid than the Byzantine. The various colours though often *paled* with white are clear and permanent.

MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING EXAMPLES OF IRISH CALLIGRAPHY,
OR OF IRISH IN COMBINATION WITH OTHER WORK

Name	Location	Date	Remarks.
Book of Kells (Gospels)	Trinity Coll. Dublin	9th cent.	Marvellous execution of penwork. Boll-tuicial writing.
Book of Durrow (Gospels)	" "	" "	Traditionally ascribed to St. Columba. Date probably before 1150. Triquet col. is.

Name	Location.	Date	Remarks.
Leabhair Dúimma.	Trinity Coll., Dublin	7th cent	Dúimma said to have lived about 634.
Gospels of St. Columba	" " "	" "	
Gospels of St. Arnoul of Metz. ¹	German Mus., Nuremberg	6th or 7th cent	Very fine example of calligraphic ornament
The Life of St. Columba by Adamnan.	Minist. Libr., Schaffhausen	7th or 8th cent.	A very important MS., came from Reichenau
St. Columba on the Psalms, with glosses	Ambros. Libr., Milan.	7th-9th cent	The glosses probably later than the text
Gospel-book of St. Boniface	Abb. Libr., Fulda.	7th cent	Purely Celtic. Symbolic figures
Book of St. Columban.	Roy. Libr., Naples.	" "	
Bible of St. Kilian	Cath. Libr., Würzburg	8th cent	Curious "Crucifixion."
Psalter	Brit. Mus., Cotton Vesp. A. 1	" "	Anglo-Celtic. Arched frame
Gospel Book of Thomas Abbot of Hantsu.	Pub. Libr., Trèves.	" "	Signed "Thomas scripsit"
Gospels of Mac Regol	Bodl. Libr., Oxford	8th cent	A fine example. See Westwood, pl. 16.
Book of Armagh (Gospels).	Roy. Irish Academy	" "	Writing small and delicate by Ferdomnach, died 814. Notable page, p. 103.
Gospels of Maclurth MacDúrcan	Archiep. Libr., Lambeth.	" "	
The Stowe Missal.	Trin. Coll., Dublin	8th or 9th cent.	Not all of same date. Similar to Book of Armagh.
Gospels of St. Chad	Cath. Libr., Lichfield	8th or 9th cent.	
The Garland of Howth (Gospels)	Trin. Coll., Dublin	7th cent.	Interlacings only. No spirals
Lindisfarne Gospels.	Brit. Mus., Nero D. iv.	" "	Mostly Celtic, but by English artist.
Bede's Psalter	Cath. Libr., Durham	8th cent	Anglo-Celtic, but realistic figures.
Canons of the Council of 681.	Pub. Libr., Cambrai.	" "	Dated 763.
Antiphonary or Hymnal.		9th or 10th cent	Ancient Irish ritual before 12th cent.
Chronicle of Marianus Scotus.	Vatican, Palat. 830	11th cent	
Various fragments	Roy. Libr., Turin		

¹ Described in M. STOKES, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, pt. 1, p. 43-48.

Many others might be named, but the uncertainty of their dates renders their study less valuable than that of those given above. The Bobbio MSS are now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Many Irish MSS also, or at least MSS. showing strong Irish influence, are kept in the Library of St. Gall and at Monte Cassino.

MEROVINGIAN, VISIGOTHIC AND LOMBARD MINIATURE ART

The reign of Dagobert (622-638) saw the last departing rays of Roman civilization in Gaul. He must have been a king of far more than ordinary ability, who notwithstanding the lavish dissipation of his life, could vigorously rule a kingdom so large and so varied in its elements. In 622 he succeeded to the throne of Austrasia, the German portion of the imperial territories, in 628, on the death of his father, to Neustria the Frankish portion, and in 631 to Aquitaine the Roman. Whilst viceroy of Austrasia he had the guidance of Pepin of Landen, duke of that kingdom and mayor of the Palace, and Arnoul of Metz was his spiritual adviser. All writers speak of the splendour in which he lived, of his three queens and numberless mistresses, his magnificent progresses, grand edifices, and rich endowments and the markets, arts, trades and manufactures that flourished under his protection. From 691 to 638 his kingdom extended from the Pyrenees to the Elbe, and from the Atlantic to the frontiers of Hungary and Bohemia. The Abbey of St. Denis owes its foundation to his liberality, whilst the arts are represented by St. Elor and literature by St. Gregory of Tours the historian, and Venantius Fortunatus, the hymnologist.

At this period and earlier, there existed schools of calligraphy, which, however no longer exhibited any traces of classic influence. The barbaric tastes of the degenerate or illiterate clergy now only effected the simplest and most childish attempts at ornament in their rude efforts of penmanship. Very few and only the highest grades of the clergy were really men of much literary culture, and fewer still those who were capable of any production that can honestly be called artistic. In the Library of Laon is a MS. of the Natural history of Isidore of Seville, written in the seventh century which forms a point of reference both for literature and art. The work is a kind of cyclopædia in Latin and deals with physical astronomy, meteorology, volcanoes etc. It was a popular treatise and we must suppose the present copy to have been entrusted to as capable an artist as could be found. Of course we may be mistaken in this conjecture, and for the sake of the art we sincerely hope so. The sample of initials afforded by M. Fleury's plates of the

Isidore and Orosius cited in his work¹ are of the kind dignified by the Benedictine palæographers with the name ichthyomorphous (*ichthyomorphiques*) and ornithoidal (*ornithoïdes*) that is fish formed and bird shaped and very rough indeed. The colour of the ornamented letters says Fleury is coarsely ground and unevenly laid on either owing to the inability of the artist's pencil or to the imperfect preparation of the parchment which remained greasy and failed to hold the colour. He thinks it mainly owing to inexperience and want of skill in the artist which is doubtless the truth. The beautiful round uncial letters of the fifth and sixth centuries which appear in the Psalter of St Germain and other MSS now in the Nat. Libr. Paris² are here roughly transformed into half uncials much less shapely. As to the ornamented initials some are gaily coloured but all are barbaric. One feature that these MSS possess in common with Celtic is the interlacements or weaving patterns but they are far inferior in skill of execution³. M. Fleury's opinion on the origin of these interlacements is given further on in speaking of Carolingian art. The colours used in this Merovingian art are a dull red violet yellow and green. The Orosius (*liber Orosii presbyteri ad Augustinum episcopum historiarum contra accusatores Christianorum*) is another MS contemporary or nearly so with the grand Dagobert and his lavish splendour. It does not say much for the cultivated taste of the period. Birds like stuffed sea gulls with staring eyes and glaring plumage artificially coloured to suit the fancy of the calligraphist unwieldy dogs curious doves fishes with scales of the most brilliant colours and patterns and foliage the intention of which is far in advance of the execution constitute the ornamentation. The outline of the four evangelist design given by Fleury shows the still popular symbolism of the four beasts. It is a curious fact that in the colouring of these MSS blue is entirely wanting. Here the colours are green brown red yellow and black. They are better ground and better managed than in the preceding but are still greasy looking and badly laid on. Though found in a library so far north as Laon it is not impossible that the Isidore or even both these MSS may have been executed in Visigothic schools. At any

¹ *Les Manuscrits à Miniatures de la Bibliothèque de Laon* pl. 1-3 Laon 1863

² WAILLY *Éléments de Paléographie* vol. II pl. 7 Paris 1838

³ F. DENIS *Histoire de l'Ornementation des Manuscrits* p. 44 Paris 1860.

rate, the same features are to be seen in Visigothic work. The bird and fish forms have also been claimed as Lombardic. All this shows either imperfect study, or a general similarity of taste among these races, which points to a certain consanguinity of origin. Examples are too rare to admit of much classification, and their value too insignificant to make minute classification of any use. The opinion that by assigning the barbaric element to the pre-historic period of Aryan life we account for the similar ideas of ornament affords so plausible an explanation that until a better is given we may accept it as the true one. The question for the scientific historian to answer is, why had they no blue colour? In much early German illumination the blue is often either violaceous or slaty. In later times the German chemists first produced the ferrocyanide blues but the Orientals and Italians had ultramarine in very early use. It is peculiarly noticeable in later works that blue became quite a distinctive characteristic of French, as distinct from German, in which the favourite colour was green. Scarlet was much fancied by the early Sienese illuminators, as it was by the Netherlands, and it would seem as if sometimes the use of certain colours depended more upon what the artist could get to use than upon any specially selective choice. This must have been the case with the Irish, Merovingian, and Visigothic calligraphists, whose palette was never too richly provided. But as a rule, with the Celts as with the Egyptians, their colours if few were pure and carefully prepared, and, what is still more important to us, they were permanent. It is a lesson to the modern illuminator that, with so small a choice, these ancient artists could produce such harmonious results. Viollet le-Duc, when speaking of the glass painting of the fourteenth century in France, gives a list of the glass enamels, and hints for preventing the radiating of tints into each other. The illuminators and glass painters seem to have made use of similar canons of procedure and the former were to a great extent the tutors of the latter.

V

THE FORMATION AND VARIETIES OF CAROLINGIAN
ILLUMINATIONS.

Having seen Irish calligraphy carried into so many of the religious foundations of Western Europe we are prepared to find that a similar result followed in every case. Whatever books proceeded from these establishments now added the well known Irish features of penmanship to every existing style. Just as Lindisfarne and Malmesbury created the Celto-Romanesque and York Canterbury and Westminster the Celto-Byzantine if the distinction can be drawn in the few relics still extant so abroad we at once meet with Franco-Celtic or Franco-Saxon. As the circles of production widen the various elements become more and more interfused and commingled until eventually a style justly entitled to independent recognition makes its appearance characteristic of its epoch and from which we cannot withhold its true designation of Carolingian. If we examine its structure we may see that it consists of all the features of the cultured calligraphy of the West and South, it owes much to Byzantium much also to the practice of Iona and Northumbria. It possesses also some features of native art which under the name of Merovingian and Visigothic had attempted to exercise the barbaric energy of the Frankish or Visigothic artist upon the classic material left by the civilizers of Gaul. If we look into such MSS. as the Sacramentary of Gellone we cannot but feel that art had not much lower to sink in order to become utterly extinguished. That MS. may be said to mark a struggle towards a better state of things. It is the beginning of a revival which is known as the Carolingian Renaissance. Every young nation has its own peculiar proclivity as regards art. Hence we meet with grotesque but well intentioned and even vigorous monstrosities swollen with symbolism which in Western Europe are put forward as Visigothic or Burgundian or Suabian or Lombardic according to locality. Historically and archaeologically these remains are full of interest artistically they are mostly full of unalleviated ugliness. Writers who do not keep in view the true object of the study of miniature are apt to speak with injudicious praise of some of these wretched things which Fortune with blind unconcern or

too impartial justice, has preserved among the art witnesses of the past. They are not proven to be the highest art of their epoch but they are all we have and hence their archaeological value. It is useless to speak of the Sacramentary of Gellone as a beautiful fragment of calligraphy or a fine example of Carolingian illumination. It is nothing of the kind. It is a valuable relic of liturgical usage and an interesting memento of an historical event but it is a hideous thing to hold up to the admiration of an art student. Let the student set before himself the often reproduced crucifixion from this famous MS compare it with the Book of Kells or the Landisfarne Gospels as calligraphy, and pass by its deformities as pictorial art, and he may obtain a fair estimate of the relative art capacity of the Celtic and Visigothic penman. The MS was once in the library of a monastery at Toulouse when that city was the Visigothic capital. Some of its features are quite different from the Celtic being taken from living forms rather than from geometrical patterns. Certain Irish details are based on snakes dogs eagles and various symbolic animals. The Visigothic symbolic animals are mostly birds and fishes. Both Celtic and Visigothic artists made use of the old weaving patterns and interlacements. As to the Spanish variety of Visigothic, if we may judge from the precious codex *Vigilanus*¹ of a later time we shall probably recognize some strong traces of the pictorial models of our ordinary playing cards but no native art that would ever push its way to the front without external help. Half even of what there is has sprung from a Roman source. And so it is in the Kingdoms of Dagobert Theodoric or Clotaire. Native artists are trained and appointed by foreign abbots to copy it may be Byzantine models, or enthusiastic native abbots themselves boldly venture on the artistic task and destitute of the profound technical training of the Byzantine practitioners attempt to render ideas really beyond their comprehension. Such MSS as the Laon Orosius and the Gellone Sacramentary are the result. We need dwell no longer on these barbaric efforts. Let it suffice to examine them as to their principles or systems of colour and motives of ornament and to find out how far the same ideas occur to different tribes of mankind apart from direct intercourse or only by development under different

¹ J FERNANDEZ MONTAÑA *El códice Albeldense ó Vigilano en Museo Español de Antiquedades* III 502-544. This MS is now preserved in the Library of the Escorial. It was written by Vigilano abbot of Albelda in the tenth century.

surroundings of the same germ. We have thus questioned the Isidore in the library of Laon and know the elements out of which its ornamentation was constructed. We have found the usual fish forms and fishy birds, the bird-headed serpents of initials and headings and a few instances of full and profile leaf work. Whether the latter was the outcome of mere linear experiment or the direct imitation of nature is not very clear.

But there is no true miniature art. There is it is true a liberal use of colour, but no great variety of colours. The execution is rough and ineffectual without delicacy and without finish. It was M. Fleury's opinion that the interlacements were merely the remains of Roman design picked up by the Merovingian artists from the mosaics of Blanzey, Bazoches and other places. The use of red and yellow ochres, a dull purple and a pale green, which seems to be a choice, may have been a compulsion. It may seem of little moment, but in view of its contributing towards the explanation of points which are now obscure in this subject, it may be useful to warn the student to make colour lists a part of his notes when studying different schools. The use of certain colours and materials often points out particular localities, and in some cases may even indicate individual artists.

Let us now pass on to an example denoting a considerable advance on those hitherto noticed, a MS. executed expressly for presentation to the Emperor Charles the Great, if only to show what could be effected by the study of good models in adapting the local taste to the monastic methods imported from Italy. We have seen from the Vienna Dioscorides compared with the British Museum fragment of the Eusebian canons, what was most probably the character and appearance of the volume sent by Justinian to Pope Hormisdas, for they were executed within a few years of the same time. But between these and the Evangelary of St. Serenus—the MS. now referred to—there lies a space of almost two centuries during which period much intercourse had taken place between the Eastern capital and Rome, Ravenna, Pavia, Milan and various French cities. The result was naturally a much greater intimacy with Byzantine miniature painting and its methods on the part of the illuminators of the West. Quite a richly foliated frame work, surpassing even the really artistic borders of the finest Celtic MSS. is now seen surrounding the splendid writing and enclosing the less successful miniatures. The example usually reproduced as a

specimen of the present MS is the figure of Christ enthroned holding a Gospel book in his left hand his right raised in the act of benediction according to the formula of the Western Church. But this miniature is not an adequate specimen of the artist's best work which lies not in the figure painting but in the writing and ornamentation. It is clear at once that the inspiring model of the picture is Byzantine. Even a considerable part of the Byzantine technique has been employed upon it. There are Celtic elements still perceptible in the border frames some indeed absolutely identical with those of the Book of Kells and Celtic influence may be recognised in the drawing of the features. But the figure itself is a distinct attempt at the representation of a real personage and not of a symmetrical ornament. It is draped in a green tunic and purple cloak and seated on a richly cushioned *selles* behind which is a low castellated wall reaching nearly to the shoulders. The background above is occupied partly by a wall apparently of porphyry on which are inscribed the monograms I H S¹ and X P S. On the top of the wall are growing flowers against a greenish grey sky. The figure the seat and its cushion resemble those of the consular diptychs the drapery is also designed after the same models. The hair is blonde and the chin beardless. Surrounding the head is a large circular nimbus on which is placed a red cross with black outlines and an inlaid ornament of gems possibly intended to represent a diamond and four pearls. The outline of the nimbus is a double ring of white filled in with white pearls. This particular border is rather plain some of the others are much more richly covered with really tasteful patterns*. The date of this MS being known enables us to ascertain its exact position as a monument of the art now under our notice. It was completed between 778 and 781 to the order of King Charles the Great crowned emperor in 800 and his wife Hildegardis and was afterwards given by them to the monastery of St Saturninus, or Sermin of Toulouse on the occasion of a visit with their son Louis just made King of Aquitaine. Godescalc or Gottschalk who was entrusted with its execution tells us in an inscription on

¹ This is the contraction of the Greek word *ΙΗΣΟΥΣ* Jesus not *In hoc signo* as explained by Dr Waddington.

* For reproductions see TAYLOR MÖBIUS, etc. *Voyages pittoresques dans l'ancienne France* Languedoc pl 12-1^o Paris 1833. LOUANDR *Les Arts Symphonies* t. 1. 2^o p. 8 Pl. 1835-58. CORMIER *Les Leçons des Dames et Filles* pp. 9-100 Paris 1864. DE SOMMERARD *Les Arts au Moyen-âge* Album a. n. 7 pl. 39-40 Paris 1838-46.

the last two leaves that it took seven years to complete. It is written entirely in letters of gold and silver on purple vellum, and enriched with miniatures. Formerly it was enclosed in a jewelled shrine or *cumdach* of silver set with precious stones after the fashion of the Irish Gospel books. That shrine has long since disappeared but some idea of its splendour may be gathered from the extant *cumdachs* and from the bindings of such volumes as the Evangelary of St Emmeran at Munich and those of Monza and Aachen¹.

During the Revolution the MS was stolen from the monastery and after being stripped of its valuable covers was thrown aside to be sold as waste. Accidentally discovered in this shape by the Baron de Puymaurin it was rescued and sent to Paris, where it was rebound in silk velvet and returned to Toulouse. Here it remained among the treasures of the Cathedral Library until 1811, when it was presented as a baptismal gift to the young son of Napoleon. The Emperor placed it in the Musée des Souverains whence it passed into the National Library. It is now numbered 1993 (nouv. acquit Lat.).

Undoubtedly the St Serni Gospel book is a great advance on its predecessors in France. Let us briefly see how this came about. Had it not been for a small section of society which still kept alive the old Roman culture the rapid changes in society produced by the various barbarian invasions would undoubtedly have succeeded in reducing the invaded sections of the Roman empire to a state of utter intellectual darkness. The preservers of culture were mostly men of Roman descent who had embraced the ecclesiastical state and in order to maintain their position the more effectually had formed themselves into religious communities. It is a curious and important synchronism that while Justinian was reviving the splendour of Roman arms and political life in the East Saint Benedict was creating the great religious foundation of Monte Cassino which was to become the preceptrix of the West in religious literature and art. Such was its fame within the lifetime of the founder that most of the existing communities were eager to adopt its rule and by the eighth century a number of busy offshoots were not merely continuing but striving anxiously to increase and disseminate its practical teachings as the basis of the new Christian civilisation.

¹ A fine engraving of the Emmeran MS cover may be seen in *SANDEL, Description de l'aureum ac periclyst. a SS. Evangelorum Codicem MS Monasterii S. Emmerani* tab. I p. 29 Ratisbonae 1786. Tabula II gives an example of the initials and writing and tab. III a reproduction of the portrait miniature of Charles the Bald enthroned.

Most opportune to this effort was the accession of Charles the Great. His personal sympathies apart from his great military enterprises or perhaps in concert with them were all on the side of order security and progress guided by an almost superstitious regard for religious approval and co operation. By the invitation to his court of men like Alcuin of York Paul Warnefrid of Pavia and Theodulph of Fleury he put the practical execution of his schemes upon the very safest lines to ensure their success. Thus schools were founded scriptoria multiplied and kept incessantly occupied on all kinds of literary productions particularly in the form of portions of the Holy Scriptures and in the practice of calligraphy and miniature. Outside the elementary schools were select collegiate foundations in which the useful arts and even abstract sciences were carefully taught. Mathematics and architecture as well as grammar logic rhetoric and poetry were brought up to the highest possible level of efficiency. Like Justinian and Basil Charles the Great had a truly regal taste for magnificent edifices and Aix la Chapelle or Aachen Ingelheim and Nimeguen witnessed the erection of palaces in which the spoils of Ravenna Milan and Pavia were used to enrich the architecture or adorn the walls. By the encouragement of the Pope Roman architects sought employment under the great Frankish monarch and painters goldsmiths and penmen found ready admission into the workshops superintended by the Frankish Churchmen. This was therefore a real Renaissance both of learning and the arts but owing to circumstances which could not be then readily altered it was but partial as regards the particular art of MS ornamentation. The difference between illumination and miniature painting is here placed in strong relief for while illumination is revived in the West miniature with respect to the human figure at least is neglected and even unconsciously discouraged. For Charles the Great was on the side of the Iconoclasts. Though not an image breaker himself he was strongly opposed to the admission of images (sacred statues and pictures) into the churches. Hence the anti pagan objection to the rule enforced in monastic schools led rapidly to a condition of ignorance of the true outline and anatomy of the figure—so excellently understood by the Greeks through their athletic outdoor life—which for a long time rendered pure figure subjects pitifully incorrect and childish. The old Greek life with its favourable climatic conditions had been a school of the finest type but it was a transient class.

so allied to pagan impunity, that it was too dangerous to be imitated even apart from the prohibition of a Northern sky.

Greek artists it is true could draw and mould the figure as no later artists ever have done. The monastic principle while perhaps imperatively necessary to the Christian life, nevertheless led to the worst possible artistic results to the most incompetent drawing and the very antithesis of beautiful form. But as regards the mere practice of book-decoration in gold and colours the Carolingian revival stands out as a distinct epoch of Medieval Illumination. Celtic book ornament is calligraphy pure and simple, the work of the penman only. Merovingian or Germanic as it might be called in connexion with its closely related styles Visigothic and Lombard is penmanship combined with a certain approach to miniature painting and naturalism. Celto-Saxon also certainly aims at actual or historic in addition to symbolic representation without neglecting the calligraphy and the ornament. Now, however, every element that until this time had found its way into book ornament is pressed into requisition and the whole welded by high artistic ability into a harmonious unity already superior to its immediate constituents and destined in the course of another hundred years to become absolutely the most beautiful form of decoration hitherto accomplished. It is not difficult to analyse. The handwriting has been thoroughly remodelled. In place of the rudely formed and illegible Germanic the Latin inscription alphabet has been modified by combination with uncial forms into a hand hereafter to be called Carolingian minuscule. A combination also of capitals and uncials as used in the contemporary Saxon of England is employed. One peculiarity that had been growing from early Merovingian times and used in the "signum Dagoberti regis,"¹ was a fancy for inclaving or insetting and combining letters for the sake of brevity, which had created the now favourite form of the monogram. Apart from this the Carolingian writing is exceedingly plain bold and legible, and adapts itself most readily to the richer ornament now imported into calligraphy. Then with respect to the borders and ornaments generally, while the Byzantine style was developed out of the Romanesque of Italy by the appropriation of Oriental features a certain parallel modification seems to have taken

¹ In the "I nvelegium Dagoberti I pro Monasterio S. Maximini Trevirensis." See *Baumgarten's Clavis Diplomatica* etc., p. 242. Hanoveræ 1737.

place in Sicily and Italy by which the native Romanesque is more or less tinged with Saracenic or what was afterwards so termed, so that it grows under Greek Ostro Gothic and Lombard auspices into a style neither purely Italic nor sufficiently changed to be considered other than Romanesque yet so modified as to cause considerable ambiguity in matters of detail. The influence of this Italic style on Frankish and Saxon ornament is therefore attributed by some writers directly to the Byzantine by others to the Romanesque. It is almost a distinction without a difference for while in the gradual alteration of Irish calligraphy into English illumination, the *opus Anglicum* as it has been called the Romanesque and some elements of ornament are discernible, it should be remembered that the arcade is a prominent feature of Byzantine and the introduction of gold and silver distinctly due to that form of art in the books sent from time to time to Rome and other cities from Constantinople. These books were widely known and appreciated, for a Byzantine chronicler tells us that Belisarius, after his final victory over the Vandals, found among the spoils of Gelimer certain Gospel-books splendidly written and glittering with gold and all kinds of precious gems¹. And similar books, 50 or 60 years after the death of Belisarius, were given by the famous Lombard Queen Theodelinda, the wife of Agilulf and friend of Gregory the Great, to the Baptistery at Monza. Indeed the covers of the Gospel book, still preserved in the Cathedral treasury, and known as the *Evangelarium of Monza* are the oldest jewelled book covers in existence. They consist of plaques of gold, enriched with gems and antique cameos. Besides these occasional gifts, many precious volumes were brought or sent to England and France directly from the Eastern capital. In the British Museum is a Gospel book (Roy MS. I E vi) attributed to the seventh century. It is a rich purple vellum MS, with arcaded frames to the miniatures of the Evangelists. The beadings to the pilasters, however, are not capitals in the architectural sense but circlets, showing that they are copied from book work and not from buildings. In this particular they resemble the Stockholm Gospels and therefore other Franco-Saxon work. In the minor details are portions of Irish bandwork and zigzags, but besides this in some of the pilasters are foliages manifestly copied from similar foliages of a better class, for while they catch the general character of leafage they miss

¹ ZONARAS, *Chronicon*, tom III, f 95 col. 3

the special points of symmetry and balance, found in the early stonework, and afterwards attained in the Winchester Benedictionals. This British Museum MS is one of the earliest of northern execution in which the identical foliage ornament occurs which had reached Italy in the preceding century. What was its origin? It is known that the abbey of St Medard at Soissons, founded by Clotaire I in 560 was built in the Byzantine style, as used in the new church of San Vitale at Ravenna. This abbey was soon one of the busiest and most famous in France for the production of books. And whilst no doubt the venerable Romanesque church of San Michele at Pavia formed an excellent treasure from which the Frankish illuminators gathered a good deal of ornamental detail, as may be seen in examples executed in the scriptoria of Soissons, Tours, Metz, etc., we see also details which must have been derived from Byzantine models. The Byzantine prefers in the painting of its capitals and pilasters to bring in the Oriental use of gold and colours—the same practice is adopted by the illuminators who, moreover, prefer the quadrilateral or cubic form of the capital, with its enrichments of pearly bands, as in Byzantine, rather than the ordinary rounded form of the Roman and Romanesque. Byzantine art reached the West again during the tenth century in at least three well-known localities. Sicily by the conquests of Nicephorus Phocas, about 960, Germany by the marriage of the Princess Theophano daughter of Romanus II to the Emperor Otho II in 972, and Venice by the founding of St Mark's in 976. But it is not necessary to insist on the direct contact of the Franco-Saxon and Carolingian artists with fellow craftsmen from the Eastern Empire. Examples of Byzantine MSS were well known and buildings in the Byzantine style were either in existence or were erected for Charles the Great as already stated, at Aachen, Ingelheim and Nimeguen, while other places in the Rhineland possessed buildings of the same style. The MSS show, moreover what probably was the character of the mural painting of these edifices. In religious subjects the type is that of early Christian art, and in the earlier works the stiffness and inaccuracy of the drawing, the ignorance of composition, and coarseness of colouring betray the still uncultivated hand. The manner nevertheless of laying on the colour and of placing the lights and shades in coarse lines is inherited from the antique. The type of face and of expression, the eyes, the draperies, the gold hatching and greenish shadows, the tendency to use vermillion and a newly

acquired blue without admixture are certainly Byzantine. On the other hand, whilst the glaring disproportions of the figures, the large feet, and hands and minor details (among which are the black and red markings of the features) are native and barbaric, the architectural accessories are of the late Roman character, with a preference, however for the conical rather than the cylindrical form of capital, and for massive golden foliages and variegated colours in the shafts. The backgrounds are laid in almost pure paled tints of violet, rose, scarlet and green.

In the borders, as already pointed out are elements of ornament derived from various sources and subjects or details gathered apparently from cameos and other sculptures. But the specific characteristic of Carolingian illumination consists in the initial letters. These are productions of the highest decorative skill directed by artistic taste and culture. Founded on a plan derived from antique motives the designs comprise the heads of snakes lizards, dogs lions, and dragons involved with intricate interlacements of Celtic or Germanic invention. Executed in gold and silver, with red outlines or marginal dots and enriched with beautiful foliages on delicately coloured grounds, chiefly violet or deep purple, these letters are often of an enormous size and thus are strikingly magnificent in their appearance. Another feature somewhat less emphatic is the doctrinal symbolism never quite absent from any mediæval illumination, and shown here, more especially in the tetramorphic figures of the Evangelists and the famous Fountain of Life, with its beautiful accompaniment of living creatures. We may notice further details important to the student, from the Gospel book of St Sernin. The first two leaves contain the figures of the four Evangelists, sitting on magisterial chairs on which are placed cylindrical red cushions, the ends of which are richly embroidered. These cushions as already pointed out, are precisely like those of the consular ivory diptychs. The beads are of the usual type, a longish oval, with large wide open eyes, strongly arched brow, straight nose, narrow above, broad at the nostrils and tip, and with lips preserving the antique shape and fulness. The Evangelists are all bearded. St Matthew holds in his right hand a golden stylus in the left his Gospel. In the upper left corner is the angel

represented as giving the benediction in the Greek manner¹

St Mark is just about to write. The Lion crouches beside him in the right lower corner, and the Gospel lies in front on a single footed desk. St Luke is similar in design to St Matthew, but of course, accompanied by the Ox. St John dips his pen into an inkstand placed on the top of a desk. Above him, in the left corner is the Eagle. The whole action is stiff and unskilfully managed, the extremities weak and ill formed. In the first and fourth, the back-grounds are of antique architecture rudely executed, and in a slate or dull violet colour. The other two are deep green below and paled blue above, on which are painted stripes of clear violet.

The whole of the succeeding page is taken up with the Christus Iudex, already described, giving the benediction in the Latin mode. The frame border is rectangular and the red lined compartments filled in with a variety of recurrent patterns of a usual kind, those of the upper left and lower right corners being used in the Alcuin Bible now in the British Museum, and in other MSS. Outside this frame is another of gold, thickly outlined in red, with a crutch shaped projection at each corner. In later examples the corners of the borders are elaborately decorated with branch or braid work, or serpentine loops of graceful design. On the verso of this same folio is the representation of the Fountain of Life, as a hexagonal cistern under a rich canopy supported by eight slender variegated shafts with golden foliated capitals. Upon the golden pinnacle of the vaulted roof is a heavy Greek cross. In this instance, there is a budding behind, a semi circular edifice, representing the church, on the various cornices of which are perched different kinds of birds to represent the faithful such as peacocks, cranes, poultry and pigeons. Beneath, on the rocks are deer, a swan, and a stork. The miniature is enclosed in a compartment frame. The sky or background consists of bands of different colours². Of

¹ With the thumb across the third finger and curving the index finger so as to form the monogram XP. In the Latin mode the bishop extends the thumb and first two fingers of the right hand, in token of the Trinity and the other two fingers are closed.

² There are fine reproductions in colours of these illuminations in the great work of COMTE A. DE BASTARD, *Peintures et Ornaments des Manuscrits* Paris 1835. Inferior copies or engravings of one or both are given by LACROIX, MOLNIER, WOLTMANN, and others as well as in the works mentioned in note 2 p. 57.

other examples a considerable number is still preserved. If we might refer to one as a central type of the various schools which constitute the Carolingian style we would select the Gospel book of St. Médard of Soissons. Knowing that the foundation in which it was executed was originally planned after a Byzantine model, we are not surprised to find in the MS reminiscences of its Eastern origin. The subjects of the miniatures are much the same as in the St. Sermin Gospels but the miniature of the Church suggested to Dr. Waagen the Palace of Theodoric at Ravenna while the Fountain of Life (about which are certain suggestions of the drolleries which appear so frequently in later work) and the sceptre of the Christ are each surmounted by a Greek cross.

Amid much antique detail of frets meanders foliages gems and cameos are the usual Christian symbols of the lamb and the tetramorphic figures of which the Lion and the Ox are echoes of some antique Pegasus. All the Evangelist pictures have coloured grounds with golden *nimbis*¹ to the figures all of which except the St. Matthew are beardless. The flesh shadows are painted in the Byzantine and Italian manner and rather greenish. Golden initials on purple grounds are placed in front of each gospel. Didron thought that the beardless Christ was a type peculiar to early Christian art which ceased after the tenth century. This example therefore shows the transition in that motive and in other respects the manifest influence of Byzantine models upon Carolingian art in general. Count Horace de Viel Castel in his *Introduction to the splendid reproduction of the Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit* (Paris 1853) says: "Between the Evangelary of Charles the Great formerly belonging to the abbey of St. Sermin of Toulouse the Bible given to Charles the Bald by the canons of St. Martin of Tours and the Evangelary of the Emperor Otho III in the Library of the Bollandists at Brussels it seems to us almost impossible to establish the distinction of the schools of painting of which these three MSS were the product. That of Otho III, which dates from the tenth century is superior in execution to the other two. With more or less of barbarism or perfection the style is the same in the three MSS and that is the style of the antique

¹ It may be well to remember Didron said not on as to *nimbus aureole* and *glory*. The *nimbus* surrounds the head the *aureole* "or *mandorla*" (almond-cusp) encloses the body or complete figure. If both are used the whole is called a *glory*.

Roman school, the inspiration of which has been the guide of the painter from the eighth to the tenth century' This is mainly quite true. The style is no doubt the same, but within it he several specific differences. We have often to distinguish between a style and a school. If the former indicates a general conformity to a type the latter indicates a special variety of this conformity. And M. Anguste Molinier ventures to draw a distinction among Carolingian MSS¹. After showing how this style may have been derived from ancient Roman combined with Anglo-Saxon² he thus distributes it —

I. *A Franco-Saxon School* of which the Gospel book of St Vaast, of Arras is the typical example. M. Delisle in his study of this MS³ has given a list of 19 (not 29 as stated by Molinier) others of the same style (school?) still extant at Cambrai, Laon, Paris, Lyons, and other places in France, Belgium, and Holland. Its characteristic is the combination of large Roman initials with Anglo-Saxon interlacements. All these MSS are liturgical books being either Gospel-books, Sacramentaries, Bibles, Canons, Psalters, or commentaries.

II. *The School of Tours*,⁴ founded by Alcuin — This school was most flourishing and successful and its productions are found in many different collections. In it we recognise a demi-universal character which is peculiar to its own scriptorium, and several strange letters such as "g" which with its straight headline recalls the Anglo-Saxon form. The School of Tours includes some of the most exquisite monuments of the ninth century four of which may be cited as types — The Bible of Count Vivien now at Paris, the Alcuin Bible in the British Museum, the Sacramentary of Autun, and the Gospel-book of Lothaire⁵. It is hard to say which of the various relics of this splendid variety is really the most attractive

¹ *Les Manuscrits et les Miniatures* pp 120-131. Paris 1892.

² He objects to the intervention of Byzantine as he considers all its elements as reproduced in Carolingian to have existed in ancient Roman. I have shown what I think is a fiducial in the treatment of the capital.

³ *L'Évangéliaire d'Arras et la Calligraphie Franco-Saxonne du IX^e siècle* Paris, 1888.

⁴ L. DELISLE, *Mémoire sur l'école calligraphique de Tours au IX^e siècle* 5 helio-engr. Paris 1885.

⁵ See list on pp 71-74. The date of the Vivien Bible is about 850. On the Autun MS see L. DELISLE, *Le Sacramentaire d'Autun* 4 helio-engr. (*la Gazette Archéologique*, ix, 153-163. Paris 1894). Abbot Lothaire was a friend of Alcuin and sent him an illuminated book. The Lothaire MS is in the Nat. Libr. Paris (Lat in MS 266).

but we must admit the Vivien Bible to be one of the finest. The ornamental letters many of which are placed on coloured grounds are quite Anglo Saxon. Of course this may be taken as the great feature of the school founded by a distinguished Yorkshire churchman. The old Roman influence previously exercised on the school of York and on English art generally is clearly distinguishable in these Frankish examples while some features of alliance with the venerable Merovingian Pentateuch of Tours¹. Beside the Vivien Bible we might place the Bible of Glanfeuil also at Paris given to this abbey by Roricon a son in law of Charles the Great, also that in the Canons' Library at Zurich² and especially the grand Alcuin Bible in the British Museum³. The attribution of this MS to the immediate supervision of Alcuin himself is undoubtedly correct.

The Lothaire Gospel book executed by Sigilaus at the cost of that Emperor is another magnificent example of this school. It is remarkable as containing a portrait of Lothaire, which has been often reproduced⁴. The Sacramentary of Autun executed by Albaldus the celebrated calligraphist of Marimoutier under Abbot Ragenarius about 845, has the colour bands or panels for the letters the usual interlacements antique busts, canoes etc like the Vivien and Glanfeuil Bibles.

III *The School of Orleans*—This branch was organised and presided over by Theodulph formerly abbot of Fleury, appointed by Charles the Great to the bishopric of Orleans. He was the friend and colleague of Alcuin. The examples of this school are the Bible of President de Mesmes now at Paris and the Bible of the Church of Puy Notre Dame of Anjou⁵. Besides the Scriptural text the former MS contains poems composed by Theodulph and written in gold and silver letters on purple vellum also the Chronicle of Isidore and the Tract of Eucherius on the Interpretation of Hebrew names. The latter MS is

¹ Called also the Ashburnham Pentateuch.

² MS. C. 1. R. referred to by Sir F. Madden in his account of the British Museum Bibl. of Alcuin.

³ Fully described by Sir F. Madden in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1836, N.S., vi. pp. 359, 464, 580. London 1837. In these articles are notices of many other Carolingian MSS.

⁴ Engraved in WOLTMAN'S *History of Printing* i. 217 and McLINER *Les Manuscrits* etc. p. 107.

⁵ Both referred to in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S., vi. pp. 359, 464, 580. London 1837.

evidently a contemporary copy of the former. It is noticed by Bianchini¹. The writing in these MSS is very fine and elegant. A few leaves only are of purple vellum not the whole book. The Psalms and Gospels are written in silver. The initials, too are less splendid than those of Tours but in good taste.

IV *The School of Lyons*—The MSS executed in this school have more of the Lombardic or Romanesque character.

V *The School of St Riquier* whose abbot Angilbert a son in law of Charles the Great received in 831 a rich Gospel book from the Emperor. This Gospel book is now in the Public Library at Abbeville and points to a valuable library and an independent school of calligraphy.

VI *The School of Metz* became also a distinct school, the peculiar marks of which were a fine blending of gold and silver with soft and harmonious tones of green and a preference for foliage ornament though not to the exclusion of animal forms.

Without carrying further this somewhat hazardous analysis still many other busy centres of calligraphic production might be enumerated as Besançon Luxeuil St. Gall Corbie St Vaast St. Amand Nivelles, Cusumy Lobbes Prüm Marasch St Bertin Stavelot Mouchennes Anchin Valenciennes Fulda St Denis Arras Poitiers Bourges Sauvignv Autun Fleury Reims Verdun Laon Fontenelle and others from the prolific and able scriptoria of which issued many MSS still preserved*.

Examples of contemporary or nearly contemporary illumination are found in several MSS in the British Museum. They belong to the class called golden books as the gold writing appears to be the prominent feature in them. Besides the famous Athelstan Gospels (Harl 2788) one of the principal of them is the Edgar Coronation Book which dates about 966. Others are Harl 2820 and 2821 Nero D IV (the so called Durham Book or Lindisfarne Gospels) and Egerton 608. These are noticeable for their similar treatment of the Eusebian canons. The Coronation Book of Athelstan just referred to, is a very splendid MSS. It was

¹ *Evangelium unum quadruplex* II.º dicitur Romae, 1749.

² See nos 4459 638 etc, in the library collection and I. V. DELISLE *Cat. et des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* Paris 1868-91; C. DE LA VALLÉE *Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre l'Artois et le Hainaut* Lille 1886. DU SOMMERARD II 400 gives Martene and Durand's list of Carolingian French MSS etc. executed in various parts of France.

a gift from King Athelstan to the cathedral church of Canterbury about 930. From certain obituary notices made on its pages it is thought to have been executed abroad and presented to the king by some member of the Imperial family of Germany. Its date cannot be later than 940. The lettering is clear and good the ordinary text in Roman minuscule. The titles are in Roman capitals with initials of most beautiful and intricate design. The Eusebian canons are as usual placed under arcades the shafts and capitals of which are executed in gold and silver outlined with red the outside edges of the silver being now blackened with age. The page containing the opening words of St Matthew has a most splendid L in a monogrammatic Liber Generationis. The ornamental bands are similar to those in the sculptures of San Michele at Pavia. The In Principio of St John also exhibits a most lovely I the general outline of which lingered in English illumination until the fifteenth century.¹

In a Latin Psalter of the tenth century (Harl 2904) contemporary with the Athelstan Gospels we have the strong twining stems and three lobed foliages which became so much the taste during the next two hundred years and which eventually developed into the Rhenish branch work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and with a strong Sicilian influence reappeared as the white golden and coloured branch work and white vine stems which prevailed in Italy at the time of the Italian classical Renaissance. The lettering is of the same kind as in Tib A. II but the ordinary text has rustic capitals and a minuscule half like engrossing. The border and initial panelling are enriched with the same kind of foliages as the early Romanesque sculptures and Byzantine book covers. They are like those which appear in the Winchester Benedictionals,² and in the German MSS executed under the early Saxon emperors of which the Niedermünster Gospel book, now at Munich is a typical example.³

Another very handsomely ornamented MS of the later half of the tenth century, is in the British Museum (Tib C vii) with one frame border on fol 115 if possible more

¹ For general examples of this period see the library collection nos 4391-4394. These folios are rather poor. No 4398 gives a specimen of the Eugar Book.

² See the library collection no 941 etc.

³ Royal Libr. Munich Ms 35. For a most interesting and richly illustrated description of this MS see CAHILL and MARTIN *Les arts et les lettres d'Archéologie* i 13-46; iv 118 134 196.

artistically perfect than those even of the Winchester Benedictionals. The initial 'D' is extremely fine but it appears that no gold was used upon it—the parts which should be gilded being painted of a dull ochre yellow—not even porporino, the common substitute for gold, taking its place. Nevertheless the result is exceptionally beautiful. But the really finest example in the British Museum is the Harley Gospel book (Harl 2755). It is considered to rank with the splendid service book of Charles the Ball in the National Library at Paris.

As to the colour of the parchment the Psalter of St Germans is a beautiful violet the Gospel book of the same abbey and that of Souhise are a deep purple the greater part of the Vinton Bible is also purple, the Reims Gospels are in gold and silver letters on purple the St Denis Gospels silver on purple, the Brescia Gospels silver on deep blue.

In general however, the purple vellum is only found in certain portions the Canon of the Mass the frontispiece the title and the most remarkable passages.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CAROLINGIAN ILLUMINATION

FIGURE—Based on early Roman design, but influenced in costume and features by Byzantine examples. Drawing rude and inexperienced. Heads elongated oval. Faces of Roman type, eyes large and wide open, arched eye brows, narrow nose with wide nostrils. The Christ figure mostly beardless. Benediction mostly in the Greek manner.

LANDSCAPE AND BACKGROUNDS—Still only architectural but imitative of existing buildings as in Byzantine art. External nature not attempted except in the simplest single plant forms. Backgrounds sometimes panelled.

ORNAMENT—The characteristic part of this style. Much of the purely calligraphic detail of Celtic illumination is made use of, combined with accessories from ivories, caskets, etc. of Byzantine or antique origin. The sculptures of Romanesque architecture imitated in the leaf work and borders. Gold and silver employed profusely both in ornament and lettering. Very large initials and intricate monograms introduced in the titles with symbolic figures and sacred vessels, etc., used as parts of the decoration. The vellum sometimes purple stained.

TECHNIC—The pen still the chief instrument, but the Italian or Byzantine mode of painting also used, except in the mode of applying gold, both in miniature and ornament. Bands of body colour used as grounds on which letters and ornaments in gold and silver are placed. Colours those used in Byzantine miniatures applied with a similar medium. They are violet, purple, blue, scarlet, green, and yellow. The flesh painting is dark, but not executed on gold grounds as in Byzantine work. The gold when used is laid on afterwards with the pen or brush.

IMPORTANT CAROLINGIAN MSS AND OTHERS OF SIMILAR CHARACTER

Name	Location	Date	Remarks
Sacramentary of Gellone	Nat Libr Paris Ms. Lat 1096	c 750	Remarkable for its symbolism. Given to Monastery of Gellone by Count William of Toulouse.
The Golden Age (of the 1st of Mesmin of Fécamp)	Museum Libr Paris.	c 750	Written by order of the <i>Mater of Domina</i> Adaltrude sister of Charles the Great and abess of St Mesmin or Maximin of Trèves. Most splendid binding in middle of front cover is a cameo of Charlemagne. (See <i>ROSE</i> in the following table.)
Psalter of Charlemagne or of his daughter Hildegardis	Imp Libr Vienna Th. Lat 1001	c 780	Written by order of Charles the Great when King of the Franks for his queen Hildegardis. Afterwards sent to Pope Hadrian I. in gold letters. Hildegardis died 784.
Book of Valdes	Oratory of Vall cells Rome (R. C.)	c 750	Large sq fol 3 cols. No miniatures, but fine initials and writing. (See <i>MABREY</i> and <i>WERNER</i> in the following table.)
Evangelary of Charlemagne or of his daughter	Nat. Libr Paris Acquis. Lat 1203.	c 780	Written between 773 and 783 for Charlemagne the Great and Hildegardis. By them presented to the abbey of St Bernard or Sigmundus, Toulouse. In gold and silver letters on purple vellum with initials and miniatures. Contains 122 selections from the Gospels.
Sacramentary of Gelasius	Abbay of St Gall, no 319.	c 780	Franco-Saxon executed at St Gall. (See <i>RAHY</i> in the following table.)

Name	Location	Date	Remarks
Vienna Bible	Imp Libr Vienna Th Lat 1190 (Ol 50)	c 790	Sq fol 3 cols. In several handwritings (See LAMBERT in the following table)
Bible of Pres dent de Mesmes	Nat Libr Paris	c 790	Written by order of Theodulph Bishop of Orleans (See MANNIX in the following table)
Gospel book of Angilbert	Town Libr Abbeville	c 791	Given by Charles the Great to his son-in-law Angilbert, abbot of St Fiquet, or Centula. On purple vellum 2 cols
Aleuin Bible	Brit Mus Add 10516	c 800	Written under supervision of Alcuin for presentation to Charles the Great on his Coronation as Emperor, Dec 28th 800
Zurich Bible	Cantonal Libr, Zurich	c 800	Fol, 2 cols. Of same school as the Aleuin and Vivien Bibles viz, Tours
Bamberg Bible	Roy Libr, Bamberg	c 800	Said to be an exact copy of the Aleuin Bible; also of the school of Tours
Bible of Fur Notre Dame of Anjou	Nat Libr, Paris	c 800	A copy of the Theodulph Bible (see above)
Gospel book of Charles the Great	Imp Libr, Vienna	c 800	Found by Otto III, in the tomb of Charles the Great, when opened in 1001
St Augustine on the Psalms	Cath Libr, Köln	c 800	Belonged to Bishop Hiltibolt (745-819). Like the sacramentary of Drogo, archbishop of Metz. Written by nine hands
Wessobrun Legends	Roy Libr, Munich	c 812	Written at Wessobrun, Upper Bavaria. Coloured pen-drawings.
Sacramentary of Drogo, archbishop of Metz	Nat Libr, Paris, Th Lat 9423	c 814	Presented by Charles the Great to his natural son Drogo or Dreux, archbishop of Metz (840-855). Of the school of Metz or Tours. See illustrations in Bastard, etc.
Gospel book of Louis le Debonnaire	Nat Libr, Paris fonds St Germain 10 and 17	c 825	Executed at St Martin's of Tours probably by the same artist as the preceding
Golden Gospels of Athelstan	Brit Mus, Harl 2788	c 833	A very splendid example considered equal to the Vivien Bible in beauty. Probably of the School of Metz
Gospel book of Lothaire	Nat Libr, Paris, Th Lat 206	c 850	Executed at St Martin's of Tours. A remarkably beautiful volume
Golden Gospels of Charles the Bald	Roy Libr, Munich	c 850	Written by Linthard. Called also the Gospel Book of St Emmeran because given to that abbey by the Emperor Arnulph. Noted for its jewelled covers.

Name.	Location	Date	Remarks
Golden Gospels of St. Médard of Soissons.	Nat. Libr., Paris Th. Lat. 8439 (ol. sup. p. Lat. 684)	c. 850.	Considered by F. Dénis the most beautiful Carolingian MS. known. Large sq. fol. Fine miniature of the Fountain of Life. (See FLEURY in the following table.)
Sacramentary or Missal with necrology	Pub. Libr., Düsseldorf	c. 850	Like Sacramentary of Drogo. Very fine initials especially the W on fol. 40
Gospel book	Pub. Libr. Trèves no. 23 (1307 and 1308)	c. 850	Fairly written Figures of the Evangelists.
Bible of St. Vivien	Nat. Libr., Paris Th. Lat. 1	c. 850	Presented by Count Vivien abbot of St. Martin of Tours, to Charles the Bald in 850. Fine miniatures of the present on.
Sacramentary of Autun	Nat. Libr., Paris.	c. 850	Of the same school as the preceding
Leipzig Psalter	Pub. Libr., Leipzig	c. 850	A fine example
Bible of St. Paulin.	Monastery of St. Callistus, Rome	c. 860	Written for Charles the Bald, by Ingobert.
Prayer book or Hours (so-called) of Charles the Bald.	Nat. Libr., Paris	c. 860	Written by Ingobert and presented to Charles the Bald, 868.
Bible of St. Denis.	Nat. Libr., Paris Th. Lat. 9 (257)	c. 860	Fine large initials. Interlacements of Razon school. A fragment of it once in the British Museum (Harl. 531) but now restored.
Golden Gospels of St. Gall.	Libr. of St. Gall no. 22	c. 860	Very fine example written for abbot Grimwald or Hartmut
Psalter of Folchard.	Libr. of St. Gall. no. 23.	c. 860	Written for abbot Hartmut with gold and silver initials
Gospels of Fauchet	Nat. Libr., Paris.	c. 875.	
Gospel book of Trèves	Pub. Libr., Trèves no. 22.	c. 900.	Gold and silver borders. Fine initials and canons
Sacramentary	Seminary Libr., Mainz.	c. 900.	Initials show transition to later style
Lectonary	Pub. Libr., Pommersfeld	c. 900	Ordinary capitals gold. First two folios finely written on purple vellum
Sacramentary	Cath. Libr., Köln.	c. 900	Especially fine initials, especially the V and T on folios 1 and 2
Lectonary	Cath. Libr., Köln	c. 910.	Arched canons and beautiful initial of "Liber Generationis."
† Evangelarium Longum	Libr. of St. Gall.	c. 920	Similar to Folchard's Psalter. Rich profile of pages in gold and silver. Executed by a craftsman of the "Wendish hand."

Name.	Location.	Date	Remarks
Gospel book.	Reg. Libr. Brus sels, no 16393	c 925.	Miniatures
"	Chapter Treasury, Aachen	c 925	Fine figures of Evangelists.
"	Nat. Libr. Paris Suppl. Lat. 647	c 949	Large 4 ^o written entirely in letters of gold. 3 minia- tures and 1 ^o fine parti- coes
"	Nat. Libr. Paris Suppl. Lat. 1113	c 943	Contains 7 miniatures and 27 decorated pages in gold and silver on purple vellum
Psalter	Brit. Mus. Harl 2904	c 990	Transitional to style of the Benedictionals
Gospel book	Pub. Libr. Bou- logne	c 1000	Same transitional style
"	Trin. Coll., Camb	c 1000	"

NOTE—Many other MSS. mentioned by various writers are omitted from this list either from vagueness of date or as being fairly represented in style by those given, such as the Gospel books of Essen, Prague, Râm Trêves, Aschaffenburg etc. the Gottweih Psalter, the Bodley Psalter etc. The reader will find further information by consulting the following references:

REFERENCES TO THE FOREGOING LIST OF MSS.

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- BRADLEY, J. W.—A Dictionary of Miniaturists, Illuminators, Calligraphers, and Copyists, 1, 216-219, etc. London, 1887-89
- BUCHER, B.—Geschichte der technischen Künste. 1, 194, etc. Stuttgart, 1875.
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- DELISLE, L. V.—Le cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale (Nationale). Plates. Paris, 1868-81.

- DELSLE L V — *L'Évangélaire de Saint Vaast d Arras et la calligraphie Franco-Saxonne du IX^e siècle 5 helio-engr and 1 photo-lithogr* Paris 1888
- DEVIS F — *Histoire de l'ornementation des Manuscrits* Paris 1880
- DURIEUX, A. — *Les Miniatures des Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Cambrai Plates (in atlas)* Cambrai 1861
- DU SOMMERARD, A. — *Les Arts au Moyen âge etc Plates* Paris 1838-46
- FLEURY E. — *Les Manuscrits & miniatures de la bibliothèque de Liou Lithogr and cuts* Liou 1863
- FLEURY, E — *Les Manuscrits & miniatures de la bibliothèque de Soissons. Lithogr and cuts* Paris 1865
- GERKEN PH W — *Reisen durch Schwaben Baiern, etc Stendal 1783-88 (Describes Gospels of St Emmerau etc.)*
- HEPNER ALTENECK J H von — *Trachten Kunstwerke und Gerathschaften vom frühen Mittelalter bis Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts 2 ed vol 1 Chromo-lithogr* Frankfurt am Main 1879 (Leipzig Palter etc.)
- HUMPHREYS H N — *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages Chromo lithogr* London 1849
- JORDAN J B J — *Grammatographie du IX^e siècle types calligraphiques tirés de la Bible de Charles le Chauve 6 lithogr* Paris 1837
- KOFLA *Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde* — *Die Trierer Adal Handschrift bearbeitet und herausgegeben von K. Menzel P. Corssen H. Janitschek, A. Schnütgen F. Hettner K. Lamprecht. 38 (3 chromo and 35 photo) lithogr 2 photo zincotypes and 2 cuts* Leipzig 1889
- LAFARTE J — *Histoire des Arts Industriels au Moyen âge etc Chromo-lithogr* Paris 1864-66 2 ed. Paris 1872-75
- LACROIX P and SERH, F — *Le Moyen âge et la Renaissance etc. Chromo lithogr and cuts* Paris 1848-51
- LAMPICIUS P — *Commentariorum de augustis in bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi libri VIII. Engr Vindobonae 1665-71*

VI

THE WINCHESTER SCHOOL OR OPUS ANGLICUM

Whatever may have been the activity or success of other centuries of book production in this country they are all eclipsed towards the latter half of the tenth century by the amazing and apparently sudden development of the school at Winchester and we cannot but think that the remembrance we now have of Godemann and Aethelwold is largely due to the personal accomplishments of the great prelate who from 959 to 988 occupied the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury. His knowledge and taste doubtless rendered his countrymen familiar with foreign work and encouraged native artists to more zealous emulation of it. The indigenous productions of Anglo-Saxon art do not give us very exalted ideas of native draughtsmanship but the illuminators of those days were teachable; they were good imitators, and by and by became good artists. The praise bestowed on such efforts as the *Credmon* at the Bodleian is of course comparative. The drawing is spoken of as good and spirited, because it might have been worse. Some critics have thought that the fluttering draperies and sweeping folds were the bold attempt of the draughtsman to render the brushwork of Roman models by the touch of the pen, and certainly the disposition of the drapery lines is such as to suggest the *gouache* handling of classic painting or at least of Romanesque or Byzantine imitations. The earlier drawings in the Utrecht Psalter are distinctly Roman in expression, evidently copied from abler work and attempting to render with the pen the broader and bolder efforts of the brush. Apart from the palaeography of that MS. we should conclude it to be the copy of a Roman original begun by a practised draughtsman and afterwards left to be completed by less skilful assistants. The later drawings are disproportioned and exaggerated the limbs shapeless and the drapery lines weak and without meaning. There is a Psalter in the British Museum (Harl. 603) very similar to the one at Utrecht. It is perhaps English while the former was executed in the north east of France. Both are illustrated in the same manner, in some cases even with the same pictures. But in addition to the evidence of copying we have further tokens of recent Frankish influence on the Anglo-Saxon school. The initial of the

first psalm is not Roman or Irish, or Saxon, but Carolingian. A quite similar initial to the first psalm occurs in another British Museum MS (Galba A XVIII) which is a Carolingian example of the ninth century. Still another Psalter, at Corpus Christi College Cambridge (no 272) is executed in the same style. Altogether we are justified in concluding all these MSS to belong to the beginning of the ninth century and may therefore look upon them as the suggestive precursors of the definite English style which arrived at its perfection in the tenth. In such MSS as the 'Breviarium Cassinense' in the Vatican Library Paris (no 759) and the Carolingian MSS more especially of the school of Metz we may trace the gradual formation of the Winchester School. On such a basis with the stimulus of examples like the Athelstan Coronation Book¹ which bears indications of having been executed in Lorraine or on the German side of the Carolingian influence and the teaching and example of Dunstan from his experiences at Fleury this school could scarcely fail of achieving splendid results.

We should like to be able to show that the Athelstan book itself was of English origin but its style is too perfect and matured. If it were English we should expect similar examples to be still extant, whereas the nearest contemporary efforts of English work are much beneath it in artistic skill not to mention its genuine Carolingian splendour of conception. The Liber Generationis is as fine as anything in existence of even the best Carolingian illumination*. The next MS after the Athelstan Gospel book, and the first known example of actual Winchester work is the golden charter of King Edgar the date of which is fixed to the year 966. This also is in the British Museum.² At this time Dunstan was archbishop of Canterbury and Aethelwold bishop of Winchester. The archbishop was himself a skilful artist both in calligraphy and metal work and from his residence as a monk at Fleury or Benoit sur Loire had acquired his skill from the best sources under the successor of Theodulph.

¹ Cott. MS. Tib. A. 9.

² Given in TRIMMER and WILKINSON The Art of Illumination ix c. vii, no. 1 (chromolithogr.) London 1860. The 1st is given in The Penn. Magazine Feb 1839 p. 30.

³ Cott. MS. Vesp. A. viii. Facs. of decorated initial and picture and border in the Paleographical Society's Publications iii pl. 4. Also woodcut in GREEN A Short History of the English People illustrated ed. on p. 109 London 1890.

As Godemann who in 970 became abbot of Thorney, was the scribe of the Benedictional executed for Bishop Aethelwold about the same time as the Edgar book, or before he was elected abbot he may also have written the latter MS and have worked under Dunstan's personal supervision. It is however likely that a skilled foreigner was the miniaturist and not Godemann, who pretends to nothing but the calligraphy. The main fact remains that we have in the Edgar Charter and the two Benedictionals of Aethelwold and Robert three examples all of the highest merit, of actual English work. The Aethelwold Benedictional is in the library of the Duke of Devonshire. A full and illustrated description of it is given in the 24th volume of the *Archaeologia* to which is appended a brief account of that of Archbishop Robert, now in the Public Library at Ronen. The prelate Robert of Jumages, whose name is attached to this beautiful MS, was not a contemporary of the scribe and illuminator who produced it. He did not occupy the See of Canterbury until 1050 or nearly a century after Dunstan and about 70 years after the execution of the MS, for it is clearly of the same age and character as that of Aethelwold, though perhaps a little bolder in design. A comparison of the miniatures of the women at the Sepulchre will be unhesitatingly in favour of the Rouen MS. In the library of Salisbury Cathedral there is a Psalter of decidedly Winchester type, but not so fully developed as the Benedictionals. The Gospel book in the Public Library at Boulogne is a step nearer both in colouring design, drapery, and the use of foliage and gold. In this MS are a very rich purple page and a splendid initial B. It is late Carolingian with silver and gold used in it as in the Sacramentary of Metz. Similar also to the Winchester work is the Gospel book now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, but with more flowing stems and foliage and really architectural capitals to the pilasters. The columns too are more varied. A miniature in Cott. MS Tib. B. v. shows considerable affinity in some of its details to those of the Benedictionals. The date of this MS is about 990. The Harley Psalter 2901 of the same date, has the Winchester style of ornament but even better and finer drawings and better taste in colour. It has gold leafwork and gold lettering with black outlines and most perfect and most rich foliage. Still another Winchester book exists in the Cotton Psalter Tib. C. vi (of somewhat later date perhaps than Tib. B. v.) with outlines only tinted, and with Byzantine architectural

forms but wanting the Byzantine *gouache*. Its initial letters are extremely interesting and ingenious in design.¹ The so-called St Dunstan Book (Cotton Claudius A III) is of a later type altogether and so is the Arundel Psalter 60. The latter has good Othoman patterns in frames and sweeps of Winchester style foliages at the corners and centres with panels like the Niederminster Gospels. Last in our list though it does not exhaust the number of examples we must mention the famous Lut Gospels not forgetting in our study of Winchester MSS that when they were executed Winchester was what London is now the metropolitan city. It was the residence of the early English kings the seat of government and the centre of civilised society. In this MS the foliages are more slender than those of the Benedictionals but the general character is the same.² All the Winchester books use the Carolingian that is the Byzantine method of painting in thick *jaune* with a very viscid medium, so strong and bright as almost to have the appearance of oil. So excellent is the work and so famous did it become that it was considered on the Continent as typical of our national art and received the appellation of *opus Anglicum*. Its characteristic ornament is a quadrilateral framework of bright gold bars with circular cusped lobed or lozenge shaped corners and centres coiled about which and filling the panelling are stemless foliages of various colours. This prevalence of the leaf over the stem shows the sources of the foliage ornament as coming from the Romanesque frieze sculptures and the Carolingian frame borders and shows as a striking contrast to the following Othoman and Saxon development of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in which the stem becomes the prominent feature as if actually a new growth, unfolding first a mere bud then a profile *gemma* next a three-lobed and fully displayed leaf and lastly in the fifteenth century a rich variety of flowers and even fruits

¹ H. SHAW *Illuminated Ornaments* (London 1833) gives some of the initials in specimen III (pl. I col. 118ogr.)

² Examples in FRANK and WYATT *Texts*, no. 4. H. SHAW *Illuminated Ornaments* London 1833 plate VI and H. SHAW *The Art of Illumination* London 1830 plate 4.

CHARACTERISTICS OF WINCHESTER ILLUMINATION, OR
‘OPUS ANGLICUM’

FIGURE —Somewhat as in Carolingian, but seeming more directly influenced by Roman models and practice. Heads and expressions better than in Carolingian. Draperies highly finished, folds very carefully marked. Defects much the same as in Carolingian. Also noses too small and hands too long. The figures of the Rouen Benedictional of Archbishop Robert superior to the rest in every way.

LANDSCAPE AND BACKGROUNDS —Architectural, only Romanesque buildings, with Byzantine dome on columns in the miniature of the Annunciation (Devonshire Benedictional). The clouds and air only attempted, and a few single plants, as the lily.

ORNAMENT —Peculiar and characteristic. Partly architectural. First, a series of arched doorways, under which figures of apostles and saints are placed. The pilasters in gold and colours, as also the pedestals, capitals and interlacing arches. Next, mostly rectangular frame borders of gold panelling, the interiors of which are filled with surface foliages of short palmette or soft acanthus forms symmetrically disposed. At the corners, and sometimes at the centres also, are enclosets, squares, lobed or lozenge over-panellets, entwined with longer foliages, symmetrically grouped. The framework is gold, with firmly ruled outlines of black or deep brown. The foliages are of varied colours, chiefly blue, green, and rose. Golden initials and text mostly on plain vellum. Some examples have pages of purple, with gold or silver letters.

TECHNIC —Strong tempera or *gouache*, very thick and viscid, and looking almost like oil painting. Colours pure and bright, but varying in different examples with a preference however, for green, red, and yellow, as in Carolingian examples. Gilding profuse and solid-looking and applied in the Western manner.

LIST OF SOME WINCHESTER AND SIMILAR MSS

Name	Location	Date	Remarks
Breviary of Cassiodorus	Mazarin Libr Paris no 39	—	Frames show tendency towards this style with colouring of the school of Metz.
Charter of King Edgar	Brit Mus Cotton Tiberius A viii	10th	Contains the figure of King Edgar between St Peter and St Paul. Ornaments as in the Benedictionals.
Benedictional of St Aethelwold.	Libr of Duke of Devonshire	c 970	The most beautiful example of this school.
Benedictional of Archbishop Robert.	Pub Lib Rouen.	c. 990	Better drawn than the preceding but not so fine in colour.
Gospel book	Pub Libr Boulogne	c 990	Contains a rich purple page and grand initial B.
Gospel book	Trin. Coll. Cambridge	c 990	Frame borders of this style.
Gospel book	Libr at Hoxham	c 990	"
Psalter	Brit Mus Cotton Tiberius B v	c. 990	Miniaures somewhat in this style.
Psalter	Brit Mus, Harl. 2201	c. 9	Frames of flowers similar to those of Aethelwold's Benedictional.
Psalter	" " Tib C vi	c. 1000	Tinted outlines only.
Psalter	" " Tib C vii	c 1000	Beautiful frames and initial D on fol 115.
Psalter	" " Arundel 60	c 1000	Of Winchester origin.
Psalter	" " Arundel 135	c 1000	"
Sacramentary	Nat Libr Paris no 197	c. 1000	Similar to the Benedictional.
Cont Gospel book	Brit Mus, Harley D 9	c 101	A fine example.
Leo's Missal	Bodley Libr Oxford no. 29	10th cent.	Similar to above. Byzantine influence.

APPENDIX ON HANDWRITINGS.

The study of Palæography is too wide a subject to be made a mere appendix to a chapter, but it is necessary, at least for the student to know that a definite understanding of technical phraseology must be obtained and a clear idea of the objects referred to by such terms as rustic, uncial, minuscule etc., if he would make any sound progress in the

art of judging the probable age or local origin of an ancient MS. Some knowledge of handwritings is a *sine qua non*, but the real mastery of the subject is only to be obtained after long and patient study of MSS themselves. The first step should be to consult such works as will afford the simple rudiments clearly set forth. Among these works perhaps one of the earliest might be Mr. Thompson's lucid article in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.¹ Then the first chapter of Mr. Birch's *History, Art and Palæography of the manuscript styled the Utrecht Psalter* (Lond., 1876) from which and from M. de Wailly's *Elements de Paléographie* (Paris 1838) the following table has been chiefly compiled. The study of ancient charters and diplomas is much more difficult than that of ordinary, and especially of illuminated MSS. In addition to the study of handwritings a student of old MSS will learn the difference in the quality of vellum according to its age and will be able to distinguish the different modes of finishing made use of in different centuries. Then will come the question of locality, as all the fine vellum of any given period is not the production of one particular district. There is a fine and a coarse in every age, but the fine of the ninth century is different from that of the sixth. The rough, strong and thick material of Irish Gospel books is very different from the firm but exquisite parchment or vellum of the fourteenth century. Some vellum is thick to the touch but almost diaphanous or translucent, other vellum is as thin and smooth as bank paper yet opaque and tough. Qualities differ in many ways so that only experience and careful study during the practical turning over of the leaves of MSS can teach all that should be learnt by the palæographer. Mr. Birch however gives a list of writers who may be consulted for further knowledge. If to the knowledge of the probable age of the vellum is added that of the probable age of the writing the fixing of an approximate date is not a difficult matter. And when to this is added a knowledge of the illumination or miniature art it must be a very curious document indeed that will not yield tolerably definite information. There may indeed be circumstances which combine to create almost every possible difficulty. The Utrecht Psalter a MS possibly brought to England from Italy or Lorraine by King Canute or some other book lover of Anglo-Saxon

¹ His *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography* London 1893 has since appeared

times, is an instance in point. The evidences of vellum handwriting, and miniatures seem at first to contradict each other, until it is seen that the writing is not genuinely an ancient hand but an imitation of one, and the pen drawings are copies, and so the facts are reconciled. After much discussion it is now generally considered to be a ninth century MS, but for a time it embarrassed even the most experienced judges. Such MSS, however, are quite exceptional.

In the inventories of the Libraries of Charles V and VI of France mention is made of the different handwritings employed in contemporary MSS such as the following:

1 *Lettre boulonoise* *lettre de forme bolonoise* *grosse lettre bolonoise*. This was the text known as Bolognese from being chiefly practised at Bologna where there was a busy school of copyists, especially of large liturgical books. This hand was that which we usually see in such books during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is heavier and has fewer angles than the *lettre de forme* of Northern Europe. Almost all Italian Missals Breviaries Bibles etc. are written in it.

2 The ordinary *lettre de forme* *formelle* or *fournelle* was more square with angular extremities. It was used from the ninth to the sixteenth century for liturgical and other important works chiefly in France England Germany and the Netherlands but along with the *boulonoise*.

The first printers adopted this Gothic or German text e.g. Pfister in his German calendar of 1455 and Fust and Schoeffer in their Psalters of 1457 and 1459 also in the undated Bible of Gutenberg and Fust of 1456.

3 *Lettre de note* *latine* or *courante*. The ordinary writing of the fourteenth fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is the hand in which the bulk of French English Flemish and German MSS were written and was also used by notaries in common deeds etc.

4 *Lettre de cour*, or *de la Cour de Rome*. This was well as a Chancery hand in law documents in England France, and Italy.

5 *Lettre de somme*. A smaller hand derived from the *lettre de forme* by softening the angles. It obtained its name of *lettre de somme* from the fact that Fust and Schoeffer made use of it to print their *Somme* or *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas of 1467 and several other books of the same period. Gutenberg employed it in his *Catholicon* of 1460. Many of the MS Chronicles and Romances

of the fifteenth century now in the public libraries of London Paris and Brussels are in this character

6 Lettres des Juifs These were Hebrew letters

TERMS USED RESPECTING WRITING AND MSS

CURSIVE —The common rapid running hand of notes and correspondence

CAPITAL —The square letter chiefly used for inscriptions

RUSTIC —A rough and rapid form of the capital used in MSS

UNCIAL —A rounded form derived from the capital and called uncial from uncia the twelfth part of the Roman foot English *inch* but practically its dimensions are much less, seldom being more than quarter of an inch Some of the most beautiful uncial writing extant occurs in the Ambrosian Homer of the fifth century (Greek) and in the Paris Prudentius and Psalter of St Germain des Prés (on purple vellum in silver and gold letters)

MINUSCULE —A very small form of the uncial The ultimate small Roman character used in Visigothic Lombardic Merovingian, and Carolingian writing and lastly in printing

TACHYGRAPHER —A swift writer

CALLIGRAPHER —One who produced beautiful writing

ARMARIUS —A library keeper or librarian

CHRYSOGRAPHER —A gold writer

LIBRARIUS —A copyist

GOthic —The broken Roman minuscule angular method of round which arose in the eleventh or twelfth centuries It has many varieties *eg* German Netherlandish English French Italian Spanish

These hands are in the later middle ages clearly distinguishable from each other

VARIOUS FORMS OF WRITING,

TABULAR FORM BASED ON MR. BIRCH'S LISTS (UTRECHT
PSALTER PP. 40-43).

Tabular form based on Mr. Birch's

Century	COPIES	CAPITAL	REMARKS	ENCLOSURE
1	In use two centuries before Christ in the Greek of Ptolemy etc.	The most ancient form for inscriptions, Greek and Roman.	A rough and rapid form of the capital derived from L.	
2				
3	Latin Papyri.		(Through) of L. Vat. Vergh 3 rd . Vat. Terence 3 rd .	(Through) Vat. 4, verso 5727 (see Palmer's <i>see</i> SILVESTER, pl. 61)
4	Lapyrus of Ravenna, now at Paris.	Called capital table WAILLY 111, pl. 2 no. 11 but really rustic	Vat. Salvast (see BIRCH Liberat. 1 st for 1 st 61) Paris, and the last some Prudentius (see WAILLY 11 th 2 nd and pl. 21) see 6th century	
5	See G. MARINI 1 st paper diploma for nos. 23, 24, 25 (dated 444 & 449) Rome 1933.		Laurent. Ver ed (see BIRCH p. 27) Vat. Vergh L 3 rd (see BIRCH p. 21)	Paris Caprian (see BIRCH p. 17) Vat. 1 st of St. Luke (see Palmer's <i>see</i> 1 st 51)
6	See MARINI nos. 25, 114, 25, 74 etc. (dated 551, 541) etc. Ravenna Testa- ment Paris (see SILVESTER 111) Ravenna Papyrus in Brit. Mus. (date 5 th) Homil. of St. Avitus (see SILVESTER pl. 128)	(Through) of L. Vatican Ver gh. 1 st (see BIRCH p. 14)	Paris Pro testine, 601 (see BIRCH p. 27) 5 th 6th century	Vienne 114 15 (see SILVESTER, pl. 2) Paris 1 st 570 (see Palmer's <i>see</i> pl. 31 2) Paris Theodosian Code (see SILVESTER 11 th 61) Paris (letter of 543 or main 541 (see WAILLY 11 th 2 nd and SILVESTER, pl. 7) London Brit. Mus., Harl. 1 st (see Palmer's <i>see</i> pl. 10)
7	See MARINI nos. 26, 27, 28, and J. A. LITTON'S <i>Imple- ments of Charles Ma- rini's etc.</i> 1841 in <i>Archaeologia Francica</i> 1841-42 Ambros. Josephus (see Palmer's <i>see</i> , pl. 69)			Florence Laurentian 1 st Pan. 1 st (see SIL- VESTER pl. 10) Stonyhurst St. John (see Palmer's <i>see</i> pl. 17) Can. b. Corpus Christi C. 1 st C. 1 st 2 nd (see Palmer's <i>see</i> pl. 33, 34) Book of bells (see Palmer's <i>see</i> , pl. 33 54, and 1 st 1 st 1 st 1 st on pp. 41 and 43 of this in product of Lux. 11 St. August ne

FORMS OF WRITING

Lists (Utrecht Psalter, pp 40-43)

CAPITAL AND UNCIAL	RUSTIC AND UNCIAL	RUSTIC AND MINUSCULE	UNCIAL AND MINUSCULE	CAPITAL AND MINUSCULE	Century
					1
					2
					3
					4
See SILVESTRE. Paris, Rom. L. of St. Au- gustine, papirus (see SILVESTRE pl. 74) Paris, August. 11 41 (see Palaeogr. Soc. pl. 42, 43) Paris, Pentateuch de Lyon.				Cambr. Cod. Beza (see Palaeogr. Soc. p. 13)	6
London, Lindisfarne Gospels, Brit. Mus., New 10 fr. (see Palaeogr. Soc. pl. 24) London, West. M. 8. Aug. 11 10 charter of Hotha, Arch. d. Kent 11 67a and Aug. 11 2 1 10 fr. 11 10 fr. 103 (see Palaeogr. Soc. of ancient chart. in the British Museum, pl. 12) London 1077 London, 1077. M. 8. Rom. L. of 1077 (see L. 1077 31)	Laurent Pl. 10 10 Montard 1077 BIRCH pl. 501 Paris Psalter (see BIRCH p. 21)	Cambr. Gos- pels (see BIRCH p. 25, and West. wood, Pal- aeogr. Soc. 1077 p. 41)			7

CAPITAL AND UNCIAL.	ECSTIC AND UNCIAL.	ECSTIC AND MINUSCULE.	UNCIAL AND MINUSCULE	CAPITAL AND MINUSCULE	Century
London, Brit. Mus (Roy 1 E vi), Gospel of St Jerome (Canterb.) London, Brit. Mus Aug 11 3, charter of Ethelbald, A.D 736 (see Facsimiles, pl 7)			Paris Livy (see SILVES TRE, pl 88) perhaps 7th century Lichfield, Gospels of St. Chad (see Palaeogr Soc., pl 20 21, 35), c. 700	First ap pearance of Caroline c 773	8
London Brit. Mus., Codex Aureus (Harl. 2788) Paris Gospels of St. Medard, Soissons (see BIRCH, p 15, and SIL VESTRE, pl 91) Paris Prayer book of Charles the Bald (see SILVESTRE, pl 92)		London Brit. Mus Aratus (Harl 647)		CAROLINE Bib'le of Charles the Bald Paris Com ment. of St Jerome	9 10

VII

OTHONIAN AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY MONASTIC
ILLUMINATIONS

In the preceding chapters whilst dealing more especially with the foliage ornament of Carolingian and Winchester work we have unavoidably had to anticipate some of the characteristics of the next Continental Revival. The indigenous pen drawing both of English and foreign scribes over whose productions these Revivals sprang up was very much the same. Figure compositions were simple very imperfect in drawing and proportion and with heavy and unskilful outlines. No body colouring was attempted but the pen lines were washed with thin tints of red blue and violet as in the Utrecht Psalter. In France and Germany the period after the reigns of Charles the Bald and Lothaire had been one of rapid deterioration. But with the son of Henry the Fowler came something like a reappearance of the Carolingian brilliancy in the arts. Not indeed the same but a natural and exquisite development of its most beautiful features. Otho the Great may be said to have inaugurated this new revival being himself a man of varied culture and magnificent tastes. Under his son Otho II the husband of Theophano an army of Byzantine metal workers and chirographers arrived at the Imperial Court and abolished for a time all the old Celto-German influence. Now appears a cultivated and quasi-classical refinement in all the arts connected with architecture and the production of books. The young Greek princess was a passionate admirer of Byzantine enamels and if not literary herself was an encourager of literature in her new empire. Thus it may be explained how at this time Byzantine influence once more touched the Netherlands and the Rhineland. But the new art differs widely from pure Byzantine in its love of realism and its sense of humour. In the National Library at Paris (Supp. Lat. 693) is a Gospel book which shows almost pure English work of the tenth century. It is adorned with figures of birds of the most peculiar plumage, and accompanying the Evangelists an absolutely sculptural lion whose mane is one careful mass of curly locks as perfect as those of a Homeric princess but coloured to suit the design of a most impossible leonine hue, and a strictly decorative imago vituli coloured with similar disregard of nature. The whole book is a reminiscence of the School of Durham or Lands

Charles own kingdom Gothia is explained by the writers to mean Aquitaine It is the territory of the Visigoths that is evidently meant including Toulouse A similar portrait is given in the article of one of the Othos most probably Otho III who succeeded his father at three years of age in 983 and was poisoned by the widow of Crescentius in 1002 Among other portraits noticed is one of Henry II (St Henry) a direct copy of that of Charles the Bald except in features and details and a more modern treatment. As Cahier says it is an example of the unscrupulous way in which Bavarian miniaturists availed themselves of existing designs No doubt the painter of the later MS once at Bamberg and now like its predecessor at Munich (no 40) had seen and copied the St Demis Bible when it was at St Emmerans Henry II was duke of Bavaria and hence the temporary transfer of illuminators and calligraphers from the North to the South of the Empire and the formation of this Bavarian School which in later times became one of the most influential in Germany The Royal Library at Brussels contains some of the most typical and beautiful MSS of the Saxon epoch They represent the style which in the graceful pen drawn branchwork finished in various coloured inks and furnished gold with the unerring accuracy once characteristic of Irish chirography, became the prevailing taste throughout the greater part of the eleventh and twelfth centuries both here and on the Continent It was the immediate development of the Schools of Metz and Winchester combined probably in the Rhineland before reaching Regensburg and Goslar It is often difficult to say whether the work of this period is English or Continental The great Bible executed in the twelfth century at Floreffe near Namur of which the penmanship is most perfect and the choice of coloured inks most lovely and harmonious only differs in unimportant details of colour from the Arnstein Bible and Psalter of the same century, and from the great three volume Bible still kept at Winchester

Sometimes the handwriting forms our only guide sometimes even this distinction fails since the election of foreign abbots or priors to English monasteries often introduced the latest continental variations in calligraphy, or the employment of foreign illuminators in English scriptoria reduced the work to a common standard Perhaps the most striking suggestion presented by the new style of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is that of metal work In the Niedermunster Gospel book—so pro

fusely illustrated by Cihier (*Nouveaux Mélanges*, 1)—the scroll branches are precisely similar to those executed in iron or brass for the ornamental hinges of doors and chest lids, such as are seen in contemporary furniture. Indeed the majority of the Monte Cassino¹ and St Gall² MSS in this style are eminently suggestive of wrought iron work gilt or enamelled. The study of special details is often instructive in the matter of identification of work, as for example in the actual features of the designs forming the borders of the pages. Thus the corners of the miniature of the Crucifixion in the Gospel-book (anc. ids. Lat 257 of the Nat. Libr., Paris) of which a reproduction is given by Louandre,³ are all but identical with fol. 28 v of the Evangelary of St Vast of Arras, and with another folio in MS 309 of the Library of Cambrai given by Durieux. This suggests community of origin or of models. Other MSS may be found remarkable in other respects. Possibly useful light might be thrown on this question of common origin or of copying by a careful comparison of the numerous initials ('L') of the 'Liber Generationis' most of which are conspicuous for their elegance of design and for the general uniformity of their plan. The Echternach Gospel book possesses one of the finest of these special initials dating about 990. The page forms one of the principal openings of most of these books. Another such page for examination would be the 'In principio' of St. John's Gospel, another the 'Beatus Vir' of the Psalter. As marking slight but perceptible differences of treatment the initials of MSS like the Echternach book should be compared as to the single double or triple form of the gemmule. The beautiful 'C' of the Codex Egberti,⁴ dating c. 975, is an instance. Almost all the gemmules are single, the terminals only being trefoils. In this they agree exactly with those in the Gospel book of Luxeuil, while the Echternach codex has many double ones and even quatre, and cinque, foils as terminals. Still richer in double and triple forms is the MS 1378 of the Public Library at Treves the date of which is the first half of the twelfth century. Again the Golden Psalter of St Gall has many double and triple profile gemmules on the stems of the initial "B" of the Beatus. In Egerton MS 608, on the other hand, they are

¹ *Paleografia artistica di Montecassino* (O. P. Taeggi) Montecassino 1877.

² RABN, J. B. *Das Psalterium Aureum von Sanct Gallen* St Gall, 1838.

³ *Les Arts Somptueux* Planches, i. 14 Paris 1858.

⁴ Public Libr., Trèves no. 24.

mostly single but the grounds are filled in with bright colours as scarlet green, and blue. But the air suggestions merely and should not be too closely pressed. Perhaps they indicate place rather than period. These graceful stems with their gradually developing foliage are the great feature of the style which begins with the Ottonian Revival of 972 and goes progressively onward to the brilliant era of the great Frederick II. and only becomes absorbed in the Gothic influence which entirely pervaded the West in the days of St. Louis or about the middle of the thirteenth century. The style was due to the settled fusion of preceding elements no longer kept distinct and merely combined but grown and welded together to a perfect unity. Before the division of the great Carolingian empire by the treaty of Verdun in 843 a much more than diplomatic separation had already taken place. The vernacular speech of Austrasia on the Lotharingian side was already far on its march towards High German while that of Neustria on the west was as distinctly tending towards the *Langue d'oïl*. Similarly the tongues of Aquitaine and Lombardy were assuming the phraseology which became Romance and Catalan on the one side and Italian on the other. With these trenchant changes in speech naturally grew changes in dress, customs and artistic tastes. The national characteristics of Mediæval Europe were becoming stereotyped. Hence the influence of Byzantine ideas now is not superficially observable. It has not been abandoned but absorbed. After a brief domination under the second Otto it sinks beneath the surface of German art but informs its spirit until the national Germanic method has become matured. With the opening of the eleventh century begins a new era of decorative art. Both in architecture and bookwork its conspicuous feature is the often mentioned finely drawn branch work in which foliage is quite subordinate. In illumination this branch work begins by being executed as in the school of Metz in gold outlined with red, and is concentrated upon the large initial letters. The monogram is gradually abandoned. In some localities the gold is laid aside for coloured inks of a beautiful and tender quality employed with the most masterly calligraphic skill and perfect taste for harmonious colouring. In the complete subordination of the foliage to the branch work it has been noticed that this German style of the eleventh century is absolutely the converse of the English of the tenth where foliage almost or entirely without stems—which may be ultimately traced through the sculptures of

Ravenna to the Roman palmette—are made the principal portion of the ornament. We may here conveniently pause to notice the origin and development of certain prominent features both of English and German book-ornament which at first sight appear somewhat arbitrary. In the borders of German MSS of the eleventh and twelfth centuries we find it a common practice to use a succession of beads or bands of paled pure colours mostly in strong contrast, such as violet or rose and bright green, bright scarlet and violet, violet, pale blue and pale yellow, scarlet, rose and pale green some of these combinations being traceable to the borders of Celtic ornament. This fondness for alternations of pure colour, sometimes paled sometimes saturated, eventually becomes quite a conspicuous feature of German illumination in connexion with what I have called surface foliage. The latter in the form of palmette or soft acanthus was much used in Carolingian panellings and is continued in Ottonian and Saxonian, and partly thence in English, Edwardian to Lancastrian. How it came to the latter, or English of the fifteenth century will be seen by and-by. The form of the frame-borders also is clearly traceable. In German work we find a habit of placing circlets in the corners or side centres or sometimes as in the Niedermünster Gospel-book in both. In English the circlets are still kept at the corners, as in the Winchester work.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the framework is often partly coloured with counterchanged colours, or at least the panels are already taking the form and being enriched with surface foliage much in the same way as afterwards in the Lancastrian of the fifteenth century. In short, whether in English or continental work there is really no element in the illumination of the two centuries following the Norman Conquest, which is not a natural development of forms already in use with one exception viz the addition of such natural plant forms as were introduced by the Gothic stone and wood carvers into architectural ornament an addition which after all cannot be considered exceptional. The Gothic taste which, from the accession of St. Louis in France prevailed throughout almost all Western Europe, is answerable for all that is new, in the ivy, vine, thistle, trefoil, and other foliage, which towards the end of the twelfth century began to creep into border and initial decoration. If during these centuries the illuminator is chiefly influenced by the richly twisted and gilded iron work of the time after the beginning of the

thirteenth he again returns to the imitation of stone-carving the work of Cistercian houses being severe and without the use of gold while that of Cluniac origin glows with varied colours and glitters with burnished gold. The difference of practice was the outward result of a diametrical opposition of opinion and discipline and even became the subject of a certain dissension between the two rival and influential orders. Many of the monastic illuminators were either themselves goldsmiths and metal workers or directly associated with such craftsmen in the cloister and besides it was but natural that the prevalent fashion should be led most commonly by the workers most in request. Next to these and the enamellers or at times before them according to the popularity of their work, came the stone carvers. Enamelling is still conspicuous in forming the back grounds of miniatures and the bodies of the larger initials even from the beginning of the Gothic period. The well known diapering and chequer work of the Psalter of St Louis and of succeeding MSS down to the Hours of the Duke of Berry in the fourteenth century are clearly laid in imitation of the enamelled surfaces of croziers chalices ciboria and other productions of the goldsmith and enameller. Nothing could demonstrate more clearly the intimate relation of all the minor arts to each other in mediæval times than the history of book decoration. Apart from the external ornament, which frequently called in the aid of both goldsmith and embroiderer, the book itself in its embellished pages records the character of all the contemporary modes of luxury and adornment. Just as in the Romanesque and Byzantine may be recognised such architectural enrichments as were seen on the tombs of Honorius and Theodoric at Ravenna so the metal ornaments of cathedral chests and doors and the embroideries of episcopal paraphernalia made up the decoration of the grand initials of the Othoman Franconian and Saxon Gospel books. The beautiful and typical enrichment of the Egerton Gospel¹ is identical in kind with that embroidered on the chasuble of St Thomas of Canterbury at Sens while the same treatment of feathers employed on the venerable sudarium of St. Germain at Auxerre, reappears in the birds and monsters of the Apocalypse of the Marquis d'Astorga. The persistence of this Othoman form of ornament is very remarkable. It differs but slightly, as already pointed out in the Codex Egberti of c. 980

¹ Brit Mus no 603

at Trèves the Lehternach Gospel book of c 990 at Gotha the Trèves MS (no 1378) of c 1140 and the Egerton MS 608 of the British Museum. The addition of richly beaded crossbands and recurved palmette-foliages converts this earlier style into the coiled and banded ornament of the succeeding two centuries with its revived *appareil* of dogs, birds and huntsmen and its widening foliages. Thus it becomes a fitting climax and completion in its splendour and grace to the great pre-Gothic or Romanesque period which had drawn its threefold life and inspiration from Rome, Byzantium and Icon. The new style is to be a work chiefly of monastic origin, but influenced from its birth by the newly awakened love for and reverential imitation of, external nature rather than by the subjective ideals of the old dogmatic asceticism.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SAXON, RHEINISH AND LUTHERAN ILLUMINATION, X-XII CENTURY

FIGURE—May be divided into two classes: a mere pen drawing or pen drawing slightly washed with colour; b complete paintings in body colours. The former are generally too long in their proportions and have the same fault in the extremities; the latter are more in the Roman manner and of better execution showing an approach to the later realistic schools, especially in the North West. Eyes still staring but extremities smaller than in the previous centuries.

LANDSCAPE AND BACKGROUND—Not yet introduced into the miniatures. Enamel grounds or plain burnished gold often used as backgrounds to both initials and miniatures.

ORNAMENT—Superbly elegant branchwork in gold with red outlines or in coloured ink & apparently in imitation of wrought metal work and embroidery. In Italian calligraphic illumination the Irish and Lombardic ideas of dogs and other figures occur in the coils, instead of flowers or foliages. Indeed Monte Cassino illumination even to the thirteenth century might be designated the white dog style. The initials of the Golden Psalter of St. Gall are most exquisitely beautiful. So are many others in other contemporary MSS.

TECHNIC—Slight tints of clearly-washed transparent colour on black or red outlines or else thick *gouache* and raised gold executed with gold leaf and burnished. The Bamberg school of colour differs from the

Lotharingian First instances of the dry manner prevalent in later illumination At first the prevailing colours are green red and yellow as in Carolingian work Norman MSS are more moderate in decoration than those of Artois Paris or Picardy Liège the only school in Central France noted for brilliancy is influenced by enamel work and uses intense blues reds and greens with harmonious effect but on coarse parchment

CHARACTERISTICS OF WESTERN ILLUMINATION DURING THE XII CENTURY

FIGURE—In many instances greatly improved and possessing dignity and strength Single figures in panels form a feature of some French examples, employed as initial I The outlines are stiff the attitudes formal and suggestive of glass painting

LANDSCAPE AND BACKGROUNDS.—Towards the end of the century external natural scenery begins to appear, very rudely and coarsely attempted in Netherlandish MSS at first merely a deep blue to represent the sky, or a single tree on a diapered or enamel ground

ORNAMENT—Becomes richer in foliage drawing and more full and compact in the coils and stems. Animals placed among the branches on coloured and burnished gold grounds to support the branch work. Initials still large and elaborately designed No borders except to panels the limbs of the initials often sweep beside the text Cistercian MSS often ornamented simply in coloured inks or even in monotone as in a dull red Initials often surrounded by mere pen-work flourishes which sweep to considerable distances from the letter and form a sort of border to the text

TECHNIC—The application of *gouache* carried to great perfection Four colours only used as a rule blue, red green and yellow¹ Sometimes slate violet added German taste however prefers the tinted outline English and Norman MSS also prefer the pen to the brush Gold applied as a liquid as well as in leaf, with a *gesso* ground Italian MSS illustrated in the same way with pen drawings The methods in use during this period are set forth in the treatises by the Monk Theophilus and others

¹ Four vehicles or media were also in use—fish or parchment size white of egg gum water and honey water Of these the size and white of egg were most common

SIXTH RHEINISH BAVARIAN AND OTHER GERMAN AND
FRENCH MSS. IX.—XIII CENTURIES

Name.	Location	Date	Remarks.
Wessobrunn Prayer book	Bay Libr., Munich.	c 814.	Contains 16 small pen drawings. (See WAGGER <i>Handbuch der Deutschen und Niederländischen Malerschulen</i> 1 & 2, Stuttgart 1902, and HUGLER, <i>Altneue Schriften</i> 1 76, text.)
Gospel verses of Otfried of Weissenburg (Alsace)	Univ. Libr. Heidelberg (Pal. Lat. 82r)	9th cent.	Rather Anglo-Saxon than Carolingian in character as it is chiefly illustrated with pen drawings. (For this and other Heidelberg MSS., see BARTSCH's catalogue and A. von OENELSHAUSEN, <i>Die Miniaturen der Universitäts-Bibliothek an Heidelberg</i> The 1: Heidelberg 1907.)
De laus	Libr. of St. Gall.	" "	Pen-drawings.
Thomas Gospel book	Cathedral Libr., Trèves, no. 134.	(early)	Probably executed at St. Gall. Signed Thomas Scriba. Franco-Gothic in colours. (See LAMPRECHT <i>In Initial-Ornament</i> & pl. 3 a b c.)
Gospel book.	Nat. Libr. Paris 68.1.	c 873.	Contains medallions of the Emperor Henry the Fowler and the first two Othos. (See <i>Miniatures Impériales</i> , in CARRIER <i>Manuscrits Mélanges</i> 1.)
Ekbert Codex	Pub. Libr. Trèves, no. 21.	9th-10th.	Executed for Ekbert, Archbishop of Trèves, counsel or to Otto II. Written c 990 by Kerald and Heribert, two monks of Echternach, and adorned with most beautiful initials. (See LAMPRECHT <i>In Initial-Ornament</i> , & pl. 22. F. X. HAARS, <i>Die Miniaturen des Codex Ekberti</i> in <i>unserm Lichtdruck herausgegeben</i> , 60 plates, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904, and ROBERT, <i>Anglo-Saxon Miniatures and Initials</i> , p. 12.)

Name.	Location	Date	Remarks.
Arundel Psalter	Brit. Mus., Arund 155		
" "	" " " 157	14th cent	An example of transition from Winchester work to that of 12th century
Lansdowne Psalter	" Lansd. 4 ^o 1	" "	
" "	" " 431	" "	
Royal Psalter	" " Roy 1 D 1	" "	
Wallenstein Psalter	Libr. of Prince Wallenstein at Malhus near Nordlin gen	" "	The Calendar has illustrations of the occupations of the months
Aschaffenburg Gospel book	Roy Libr., Aschaffenburg no. 3.	" "	See J. MUNKEL, <i>Die Miniaturen in Aschaffenburg</i> p. 12. Aschaffenburg 1936.
Wettstatten Psalter	Priv. Libr. of King of Württemberg at Stuttgart.	" "	Contains figures of warriors, ecclesiastical dancers, etc. (See E. T. NEOLKE, <i>Alte Handschriften und Studien</i> 1, 69)
Evangelary	Roy Libr., Brussels no 10,27	" "	
Harley Bible	Brit. Mus., Harl. 2798 1	" "	See above Arnstein Bible. Written for Monastery of St Nicholas of Arnstein near Trèves. A typical example of the style of the 12th century
Van der Psalter	Libr. Laon, no. 20.	" "	"Incomparable in execution and may be considered a type of perfection." See F. FLEURY, <i>Les Manuscrits et miniatures de la Bibliothèque de Laon</i> , t. 63, 1 lithogr.
Evangelary	Libr. Laon, no. 63 bis	" "	See F. FLEURY, <i>Les Manuscrits de Laon</i> 1 106. 3 lithogr.
Historia Scholastica Petri Comestoris.	Roy Libr. Munich 13a	12th cent	Executed by Conrad von Scheyern.
Salomonis Episcopi Const. Mater. de bonorum	Roy Libr., Munich Lat 7 c	1241	Executed by Conrad von Scheyern. With astronomical, medical and anatomical and musical diagrams and drawings. Title of Christ as the Microcosm.
Harley Psalter	Brit Mus., Harl. 510 ^a	13th cent	Virgin and Child. David's anointed. Martyrdom of St Thomas of Canterbury.

The Library of Laon contains many other superb examples of 12th century MSS e.g., nos 18, 4^o 57 74 78 103 120 223 and 231 (See F. FLEURY, *Les Manuscrits de Laon* t. 63 119. Lithogr.)

INTRODUCTION TO VIII

THE RISE OF GOTHIC ILLUMINATION

In the chapter on Byzantine illumination frequent reference is made to the Greek Manual or Guide the famous collection of rules precepts or instructions which the miniature painter was bound to obey and which brought about the formal and ultimately lifeless character of all later Byzantine work. To a certain extent but certainly more by example than precept this Greek Manual was made use of in formulating the practice of some of the best Western Scriptoria. But its authority never became compulsory a circumstance that left room for all the endless variety which is found in Western illumination and the artists of the West had in fact other guides. Towards the beginning of the eleventh century there seems to have been in use a guide bearing the name of Eusebius the *Tractatus de coloribus et artibus Romanorum*. This treatise was made up of the various precepts of the painter's art as known to Pliny and the ancients augmented by some of the discoveries or inventions of the Byzantines, and was probably the sum of the experience of the schools of Monte Cassino, Tours Metz Winchester and other famous centres of production compiled by the monastic practitioner whose name it bears. From the fact that it is not mentioned by Isidore of Seville in his encyclopedia we argue that it was not in existence so early as the seventh century and the absence of any allusion to Arabian science in the treatise itself implies that it was not compiled much later than the end of the tenth. Nevertheless it is chiefly based on Roman practice as distinct from Byzantine and its chapters on the Western arts of glass painting and metallurgy refer it to a period when these arts had made some progress in France Germany and Italy.

practised in the industrial or sumptuary arts of his time. The author is sometimes said to have been a German, sometimes claimed as an Italian. It is certain only that he was a Benedictine monk and from one copy of his book, which bears the title of *Diversarum Artium Schedula* we learn that his name was Rugerus or Rogkerus. In other copies he is called Theophilus Presbyter which is most likely the name assumed by him on entering the monastic life. One copy is called *Tractatus Lombardicus*. It is therefore possible that he may have been a German by nation as he was a monk of Helmershausen and resident for a time in some North Italian monastery. His directions for painting portraits and figures refer to the very methods practised in Lombardy and the Tuscan cities in the thirteenth century which had been continued there ever since the time of the Byzantine Exarchate.

This treatise of Rugerus or Theophilus apart from the rest of its contents is a valuable guide to the illuminator. It explains how to lay grounds of leaf gold, and how to gild letters therewith. Also how to gild with shell or liquid gold both in the Italian and Flemish manner and how to burnish the gold. It tells how colours are ground and varnishes compounded and what vehicles are best for various processes. It describes the mixture of pigments, and states which are most suitable for using on parchment but it does not enumerate except incidentally the various tools necessary to the work. As the processes of the scriptorium were familiar to almost every cloister this was perhaps considered unnecessary. It mentions, however, linen paper under the name of Greek parchment. One fact noted in the treatise though not directly connected with miniature art is worth notice as showing the truth about painting in oil. Vasari for a long time misled his readers by stating that the discovery of oil painting was due or at least generally attributed to John van Eyck, about 1410. The text of Theophilus categorically establishes the fact that the use of siccatives and varnishes and the practice of painting with an oil medium, were known in his time and probably might be dated much earlier¹.

¹ A good edition of Theophilus was published in 1847 with an English translation by P. Hordre who puts the date of the original as far back as the eleventh century. Later editions are that of Count Ch. de l'Escalopier Laris, 1843 with apparently better reasons as to the work to the latter part of the twelfth century. In this edition M. de l'Escalopier had the support of M. l'abbé Texier (*Annales Archéologiques* iv 153) M. Didron (*Annales Archeologiques* i 135 xi 302) M. Guichard who wrote the

We have had so much to say about the use of gold in illuminating that it would seem impossible for its mode of application to become even more effective than it had been in the ninth and tenth centuries, or during the magnificent period of the St Gall Codex Aureus. But in fact the burnishing or polishing of the metallic surfaces and ornaments in MSS only reached its highest perfection in the fourteenth century. For the sake of fixing definitely in the memory the various epochs of revival or transition, I have attached to them the names of contemporary sovereigns. To this Gothic or Pointed style which some excellent judges have considered the best and most thoroughly typical period of illumination, I would prefix the name of Louis IX of France (1226-1270) popularly known in after times as St. Louis.

The rise of the Gothic influence forms the great dividing line between the old, or linear and the new or naturalistic, spirit in monastic art. The art is indeed just emerging from the cloister and becoming a means of livelihood to townsmen outside the convent walls. But that is merely a collateral circumstance, not a cause. Many causes were

introduction to his edition and M. Balbe Bourasse whose translation and notes are given in his Dictionnaire d'Archeologie sacrée (published by M. Magnien as vols. xi, xii of his *Nouvelle Encyclopédie théologique*) II. 28 Paris, 1851. Mr. Hender had the good fortune to discover the text which he published and which in some respects is the completest known in a MS in the Harley Collection of the British Museum. Bourassé uses this text, with additions from other MSS. and a copious appendix of very valuable notes. There is also a good edition with German translation by A. Hg published as vol. vii of L. Fritzelberger von Edelberg's *Quellen-schriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik* Wien 1874. While on the subject of these early treatises I may mention another important work of the fifteenth century, Cennino Cennini's *Trattato della Pittura* which deals very fully with illumination. An English translation of this work was published by Mrs. Merrifield in 1847. Two years later the same lady published an edition of various other treatises entitled *Original Treatises on the Arts of Painting* in two volumes London 1849. In the National Library at Paris there is a large collection of MSS collected or compiled by an early fifteenth century notary and licentiate in laws named Jehan le Bègue most of which are included by Mrs. Merrifield in the work cited above. Le Bègue included recipes obtained from Johannes de Modena who practised at Bologna and was famous as a miniaturist. Also treatises by Petrus de Sancto Andemaro, Johannes Archerius or Alclerius and several others then held in esteem together with information got from Antoine de Compiègne an illuminator of Paris about the end of the fourteenth century and from Alberto Porzello, a noted calligrapher of Milan. To these are added various extracts from Theophilus and lastly the three books of Fracastor *de coloribus et artibus Romanorum*. Cennino Cennini's work was first published by G. Tambroni in Italian (Rome 1891) and there is a later edition in the same language by G. and C. Milanesi (Firenze 1899). A French translation of Tambroni's edition by V. Mottez was published in 1898. Vol. I of Fritzelberger von Edelberg's *Quellenschriften* is a German translation with notes etc. by A. Hg (Wien 1871) and vol. IV an edition of the original text of Fracastor, with translation, notes etc., also by Hg (Wien 1873).

combining to produce a complete revolution of artistic ideas. By the commencement of the thirteenth century the initial which in Celtic and Carolingian art had dominated the whole page is now losing its supremacy. It still holds control over the main lines of the ornament but is becoming rapidly only one factor in the general design. A delicate fringework or fringe of pen flourishes which of late had sprung up around the lessening initials is converted into a tenril or slender stem bearing a succession of fine leaves and leaflets of ivy most's perhaps at first entirely filled up with burnished gold. Small figures and by and by groups of figures have taken the place of the linear ornament in the interior of the letter, and in short the fusion of calligraphy and miniature painting has at length taken place. The thirteenth century marks the stage of illumination when the art

ch'alluminare e chiamata in Parisi

has reached the fulfilment of its earlier promise, though not yet the complete attainment of its highest perfection. We cannot fix a precise date to the change. It is all a slow and gradual growth. The most we can do is to set a date against a certain stage and say this is what we mean by an epochal example. Such an example is found by some in the Psalter of St. Louis or rather of his mother Blanche of Castile now in the Arsenal Library, Paris. Some writers state the division thus—in the twelfth century few or no portraits in the thirteenth scarcely anything else in miniature art. Two centuries more and the art as pure illumination will have reached or even passed its climax. One fact seems certain that in the thirteenth century France clearly surpasses the rest of Europe. Italy included and hence we place the productions of the period under the name of St. Louis rather than under that of Frederick II or Henry III and hence Dante was constrained, Tuscan though he was to give France the preference over Italy in speaking of the art. The name thus originating with French writers¹ has become its universal appellation and the style of which the *Credo* of the Sire de Joinville is perhaps the earliest extant example is the beginning of the naturalistic influence, which passing through a multitude of exquisite performances culminates in the grand Hours of the Duc de Berry for its ornament and in the Griman

¹ The word is found in the chronicle of Girardus Vitalis (d. 1143). It does not occur in Isidoro of Seville nor is there any record of its use before the twelfth century.

² Executed in 1257.

Breviary for its miniatures. But in these two centuries what a world of artistic activity passes before us. To detail their productions in books alone would require volumes of description by a syndicate of the most erudite of antiquaries. Only here and there can we possibly glance at the most famous examples. Nor can we attempt more than the barest outline of even national peculiarities. Each variety that might claim to be called a national style begins with traces of strong French influence. To compare small things with great as the Roman Empire became the recipient of all previous civilisations and the mother of modern nations so France in the thirteenth century absorbed all previous varieties of book adornment and became the prolific source of all succeeding styles since denominated national. Each offshoot in its new locality sooner or later betrays some fresh influence or interference which obscures its origin and if not successfully scrutinised serves to mystify the student or seduce him into byways of mistaken provenance. Following the various clues as they present themselves the nearest approach to French work in manner and feature is Netherlandish. Next to this where sometimes the line can only be drawn by means of express notification or external data we can only venture to say that the clearly distinct varieties are those of Italy Germany and England. Those of Spain Portugal, Bohemia, and Hungary though distinguishable to an eye long accustomed to the study are still to others merely sub-varieties of French German Netherlandish or Italian. As for the still finer distinctions of local schools such as Parisian Limousin Poitevin Burgundian in France, Cantois Bruges in the Low Countries Rhenish Bavarian Saxon, Westphalian in Germany Bolognese Tuscan, Milanese, Neapolitan in Italy Westminster, St. Albans Norwich, York in England we only dare affirm that at times the internal evidence is unmistakable but that for the most part only the actual history of the MS can be quite relied upon. For example some Netherlandish MSS seem to be purely Bolognese, others Florentine, the explanation being that though executed in Bruges they were by resident Italian artists.¹ So many indeed and various are the pitfalls in this part of the study of miniature art into which even

It is true of philology, it is no less true of art. However sure we may feel that the physiognomy of a miniature betrays its paternity, we can only be certain of its true origin when we know its actual parentage. Still the more we know of styles and variations the more likely we are to alight upon the tracks which we ought to follow. We may always acquire such general knowledge of national features that we can say generally to what great period or class or nationality a MS is assignable. To attempt more than this will demand that we take into account particulars which we may not have studied such as quality of the vellum watermarks of the paper etc age and character of the handwriting peculiarities of handling in the painting details of foliage, drawing of ornament or of facial expression drapery choice of colours and their arrangement the actual pigments employed their mode of application whether by this or that medium, and a variety of odd particulars which only experience can suggest and after all, our labour may be valueless compared with one little fact in the shape of a notice of the MS itself in the account book of the church or the register of the monastic or princely house for which the work was executed.

After the thirteenth century these latter means of identification become increasingly available. In England we find them in part at least, in cathedral account books and monastic rolls. In France they occur also in the household expense books of noble families, in the Netherlands in these and in guild books. In Germany and Bohemia also the guild and club books are sources of information in addition to the ecclesiastical and monastic records. In Italy the registers of churches and religious foundations abound with notices and supply even the very items of the artists charges while the official lists of members belonging to the various artist guilds are still preserved in many once busy artistic cities. Of course this kind of reference is only to be sought for the identification of the highest class of work. In the case of inferior efforts not only are the records less available but it may be that the work is an evidence of the real state of the arts in the locality or at the time of its execution. It may be merely some ordinary effort of an amateur who had a really good work before him which is now lost or perhaps stored away in some far-off collection. The student of illumination for its own sake will do well not to waste time on poor or inferior examples for after the thirteenth century such examples are not types of the highest state of the art.

The best work is always worth examination. The interesting fact to arrive at, after the local or personal details of any 'example' is the proximate source or origin of its special features so as to classify it with its proper family. For, of course the object of study, after the mere gratification of the eye is classification and the purpose of classification correct historical knowledge so that an artist in any modern application of book ornament may avoid anachronism and false association. One reason why illumination as a modern subject of art study has failed to secure a permanent position is its frequent and culpably ignorant conjunction of incongruous features. Another reason is not far to seek. For any art or style to have a truly vital hold of any age of the world's history it is indispensable that it shall be absolutely contemporaneous. When the promoters of this study some 40 years ago led by the enthusiastic admiration of an eloquent apologist fixed upon the illumination of the fourteenth century as the very style to revive and reproduce in this nineteenth, they forgot and overlooked the fundamental principle and neglected the universal experience that no transplanting of that kind can possibly succeed. Fourteenth century art wanted fourteenth century ideas and surroundings to give it vitality. The art that might possibly have taken root would have been, not fourteenth century work filched up root and branch and set down among nineteenth century environments but such a style as fourteenth century art might have reached had it continued to live and grow from then till now. The art of a century later was at least so much nearer our own and if not itself available would still be a better guide towards the modern idea. But to lift a dead art out of its own familiar surroundings and to plant it in the midst of others possessing scarcely a single element in common seems the very acme of futility. If this art can be revived it must be by drawing its sustenance from living taste and sympathies. It must be *en rapport* with its time. If it cannot attain this it will not live nor can any amount of archaeological enthusiasm give it more than a spasmodic and momentary existence.

I have mentioned two reasons for the speedy decline of the modern craze for illumination for such it really was. Another lies in the vast throng of competing modes of book illustration. In the middle ages these did not exist to trouble the illuminator, as the modern processes' trouble the engraver. Another is found in the compara-

tive loss in our days of the mediæval fondness for really bright colour. Whilst the notions prevalent at present with regard to tone and shade and subdued artistic hues continue it is hopeless to look for good illumination to be appreciated. It is only by the abandonment of the empiric and artificial trade promotion of pallid and sickly dilutions in place of real and beautiful colours that we can honestly appreciate the tastes of our ancestors or of the old world generally for brilliancy and splendour of colour and richness of colour. The taste for colour it may be said is now a thing of the past and for anything we know to the contrary it is likely to remain so.

VIII

FRENCH ILLUMINATION AND ITS OFFSHOOTS

Since the establishment of the great universities and the consequent secularizing of the arts of book-decoration guilds or at least small communities of craftsmen had been formed in every important country of Western Europe. We are therefore compelled now to recognise the nationality of the various styles. But whatsoever they are French may be said to be the basis. If any other national varieties might claim exemption they would be those of Germany. But after the prevalence of the Gothic influence it was French Gothic which more or less affected the rest in every land. In Italy and the South of Germany the foreign influence was rapidly overpowered so that by the end of the thirteenth century the national characteristics are distinctly recognisable. We will take them in the order of their growth so begin with France.

The work of the early fourteenth century in France is frequently spoken of as the type of all the best illumination of every period but this is neither true nor just. It has arisen partly from the fact of its distinct superiority to all contemporary work and partly from the majority of examples produced in other countries tending rather towards simple painting. One of the most distinguished and perfect archetypes of this much and deservedly celebrated French illumination is the MS in the National Library, Paris, known as the *Liangeliaire de la Ste Chapelle*.¹ The initials are small and filled in with

¹ Lat 17366

scenes or groups drawn with the utmost refinement of line but they are designed rather in the spirit of sculpture than of painting and suggest the low reliefs of cathedral walls or the wood carvings of door panels. Continuing in the forms of the letters themselves to make use of dragons birds or fishes the extremities are invariably transformed into long sweeping subtly curved stems blossoming towards the extremities into delicate profile leafage supported by cusps of colour or bright gold the whole finely but firmly outlined with black. The black outline is in fact the real work of the draughtsman who still works with the pen. The panels and backgrounds of the miniatures which are placed in square frames, are occupied with the peculiar chequer or diaper or damask work which points directly to the sister art of the enameller. Not being pictures in the true sense there is little or no attempt in the stories to introduce open air scenery. The rule is a few flatly coloured figures forming a simple statuesque group perfectly defined upon a background of enamel—the latter richly coloured and gilded and finished with black and white in pencilling of the utmost delicacy of manipulation. If ever the air or sky is suggested as it is at times in contemporary or following work it is by a flat surface of blue gradually paled to pure white at the horizon. One of the characteristic Bible illuminations is the Genesis page which contains the initial I of the commencing words with containing rectangular or cusped panels or medallions of the days of creation. In the Ste Chapelle Gospels this initial I forms the Jesse tree which springs from the breast of the sleeping patriarch. The tree in a two fold waving stem forms the cusped panels containing the figures above. The foliage usually selected by the illuminator from the varieties employed by the stone carvers was the climbing ivy and thus became the leading form in all fourteenth century illumination continuing in fact long after the introduction of other foliages to the very latest movements of Gothic art and only superseded by the mixed flora and fruitage of the Renaissance. It has been often remarked that the severe and thorny evergreens of the Northern winter began the series of Gothic foliages used by the illuminator. For a long time we find only the ivy and the holly. Then comes the spring with its smaller buds its profile leafage and terminal leaflets expanding and becoming sprays of open foliage at the terminals of the sweeping branches. On these are placed scenes from the

chase or from the outdoor sports of the time. As the style advances come the early summer flowers and among them the Benedictines place the strawberry with its fruit a favourite embellishment with the craftsmen and crafts-women of the early fifteenth century. Lastly we have autumn with its endless varieties of flowers and fruits and then all the golden ivy leaves are dropped out symbolism is abandoned and only flowers and fruits are flung as it were by handfuls without careful adaptation. Their negligence of design is however to some extent condoned by their frank and direct, sometimes marvellous imitation of nature. The intense love of nature and realism of this Gothic period enriches the pages of the manuscript with birds pecking on the sprays hares and foxes pursued by dogs and huntsmen and groups from the boar hunt or the tournament. In numerous instances the once fashionable pet monkey forms the general vehicle of jest and satire and all kinds of grotesque combinations of beast and reptile serve to express the universal raillery aimed at the monastic orders. Monks and friars were no longer as popular as they had been their role was almost played out but the signs of the more serious protests of the Renaissance were now limited to jests and buffoonery. To such a pass was this feeling brought that the very word

babouiner became a recognized synonym for the trade scarcely now, an art of the illuminator. Fleury gives many instances from the libraries of Laon and Soissons and numberless others such as the Arundel and Temison Psalters of the British Museum¹ may be found in every public library. The Psalter with its accompaniment of litany and canticles was to the thirteenth century what the Book of Hours was to the fifteenth and often contains strong expressions of secular ideas in its ornamentation. At the end of the century the custom of introducing drawings at the foot of the pages upon the sprays of the bracket foliages became general and to a certain extent followed fixed rules. Scenes of natural history occur then field sports and games next indoor pleasures and lastly scenes from the History of the Church. Examples of this mode of illustration are found in Harl 6563 928 in Roy 2 B vii. in Add 17341 and many others. Portraiture very speedily became a marked feature of French illumination. The portrait of St Louis occurs about 1320 in a register (JJ 57) kept in

¹ Arund 83 and Add 4686

the French Archives Nationales¹ and that of Charles V le Sage in a MS (Fr 22912) of the National Library². This is so frequently repeated in charters and other MSS as to be easily recognized. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the "history" or vignette of the initial becomes a true picture, and by the middle of the fifteenth the portrait has become a finished work of pictorial art. Meantime the separate miniature illustrative of the subject of the MS has gone on increasing in magnitude and excellence. In the Angevin MSS of St Louis the miniature is usually no more than a medallion of varied form, but exceedingly small. In those of the Valois under Charles V it often extends quite across the page.

Under the Orleans Valois of the fifteenth century, sometimes the whole page is taken up with the miniature and its border ornaments. The reflex character of illumination is nowhere more distinctly shown than in the French MSS of the period from St Louis to Philip of Valois. It is strictly representative of its own time and shows as many of the characteristic features of contemporary art as any cathedral. One great feature of the cathedral is the window of stained glass—the Sainte Chapelle is an epitome of the arts in itself,—and the illumination is in fact a minute stained window on vellum. Another feature is its sculptured figures and foliage, the illumination repeats all this, in sculptural attitudes, draperies and grouping, the fine pen drawing following entirely the leading of the chisel. In fact the art of the age of St Louis is at its best in coloured sculpture. Painting is not yet reached. Such as it is it only forms a minor part of the master art of architecture, and shares its position with glass painting, enamelling, and metal-work.

In the library collection the examples of French illumination of this period are neither numerous nor specially excellent. Some are fairly good. Among the best are Nos 1517 (c. 1100), 4112 (c. 1250) and 1547 (c. 1380). The few others are of later work.

A short account of the works of Jean Fouquet and other later French artists will be given in Chapter XIII.

¹ Cut in A. LE COY DE LA MARCHE, *Les Manuscrits et la Miniature* p. 181. Paris 1884.

² *Ibid.* p. 185.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FRENCH ILLUMINATION FROM LOUIS IX
(1226-1270) TO PHILIP OF VALOIS (1328-1350)

FIGURE ETC—Fine pen drawing of the most masterly skill clearness and delicacy. Draperies in flat tones of colour shadow lines drawn with the pen and angular. No colour in the faces except an occasional touch of red on the cheeks. Brilliant tints of clear unbroken colours as scarlet and blue heightened with very fine finishings of pure white. The scheme of colour shows the influence of glass painting. General effect mere surface composition not painting proper. Figures slender with gentle undulating movement of body. Feet small and weak. Hands fairly drawn and often graceful in pose. Faces very delicately drawn.

LANDSCAPE AND BACKGROUNDS—The background usually is a panelling of chequers or lozenges or of mosaic or tapestry in colours or burnished gold very delicately finished with black and white lines and dots. Sometimes the whole ground is burnished gold. Later a kind of open air scene with trees mountains and buildings. The trees of the same rigid and symbolical kind as in glass painting with severe black outlines and a bunch of typical leaves on a straight stem or trunk. At first the sky is made of a deep blue at top and graduated to pure white at the horizon as if to indicate the first dawn of day after the dark sky of night.

ORNAMENT INITIALS AND BORDERS—Initials composed of strangely contorted monsters. The letter itself has a body of deep blue or rose graduated to a pale tint on one edge and finished with a filigree ornament in fine white and a fine white edge of wavy or serrated pattern. The interior spaces are occupied with small figures or simple sculptural groups or with slender stems and ivy or some thorny lobed leafage on grounds of burnished gold. The border at first consists only of long sweeping stems from the letters forming brackets partly surrounding the text sometimes above and below sometimes on one side only. The full all round border is not yet developed. The initial letter is sometimes placed in a richly enamelled panel with an ornamental frame in which colour and burnished gold are interchanged and fine diapers of white are placed upon the colours. The branches and

sprays are supported by thorny cusps of colour or gold with firm black outlines. Among the foliages are introduced figures of animals as hares deer foxes dogs and monkeys birds of bright plumage and even insects. Foxes monkeys and monsters are used so as to suggest various *drôleries*. The animals are drawn with firm black outlines and are of similar character to the figures of painted windows. In the bestiaries and natural histories more especially the forms are often fabulous. We find elephants with trumpet trunks and birds with beastlike limbs. In later works the small medallion miniatures are very numerous.

TECHNIC—Pen drawing in black filled in with flat opaque colours, which are either diapered or else edged with fine lines of white but the black outlines are mostly left clear and distinct. The colours used are deep and pale blue scarlet green red purple or wine colour white and black. The burnished leaf gold used for grounds laid on a composition or gesso in the small letter capitals cusps etc. to support the colours.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FRENCH ILLUMINATION FROM JOHN II (1350-64) TO CHARLES VI (1380-1422)

FIGURE AND ACCESSORIES—Great improvement owing in part to the renewed study of the nude and to the carefulness of execution. Graceful pose of figure and extremely delicate drawing of hands and faces. Ideal draperies for sacred personages are still continued but those for all others and all accessories of costume and furniture buildings etc. are strictly contemporary.

LANDSCAPE ETC—Backgrounds remain as before in diapers and chequers until superseded by plain gold grounds or laid tape and architecture is introduced with trees flowers grass hills sky and bright clouds in a naturalistic manner. The buildings are painted in pale tints of rose ochre green blue and grey. The perspective is still very faulty.

ORNAMENT INITIALS AND BORDERS—Initials and brackets continue the same in treatment. Holly and ivy leaf as heretofore but small flowers such as roses and carnations are introduced into the centres of the spirals.

Small angel figures in long draperies bearing pennons, musical instruments etc occur. Escutcheons or badges are introduced within enspired Gothic frames or panels. The favourite form of panel is a square enlarged by semicircles on parts of its sides placed lozenge-wise and having a frame coloured red white and blue or gold and either red or blue.

TECHNIC—The painting executed in tempera or some what dull *gouache* the modelling and shading carefully though somewhat flatly executed. Tender flesh tones in place of the plain vellum as hitherto. Sometimes the grounds are gold or of flat colour diapered with gold. In the miniatures of this period painting once more begins to be practised according to its own laws and is independent of the sister arts. The court school introduced by the sons of King John II is really a Flemish school all or nearly all its best practitioners being natives of the Flemish borderland working in Paris.

NOTABLE FRENCH AND ANGLO-FRENCH MSS XIII-XIV CENT

Name	Location	Date	Remarks.
Psalter of Queen Ingeburga, *ad wife of Philip Augustus	Nat Libr Paris.	1153-1236.	Plowh 2 large miniatures. (See LA BARTHE <i>Histoire des Arts Industriels</i> *ed 1894, and ILLIESTRE <i>Vol de sur le pasant r d'Ingeburga</i> Paris 1867 in Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes.)
Psalter of Geoffrey Archbishop of York	Univ Libr Leyden.	c 1200	Belonged to Geoffrey afterwards to Louis VIII
Psalter of Blanche of Castile mother of St. Louis	Arsenal Libr Paris Theol Lat. 16.6.	c 1220	Partly of hieratic character. Reproduced LACROIX and BERT <i>Le Moyen-âge et la Renaissance</i> II pl 1 15.
* Image du Monde	Reg Libr Brussels no. 1211*	c 1215	
* Golden Gospel book of Hautvillers		1212-3	<i>Exemplum ad hoc</i> one year
1 altar of St. Louis	Nat Libr Paris Lat 1 5.5	c 1250	Transition to Gothic 8 small and de cato miniatures (See WOLTMANN and WOLTMANN <i>History of Painting</i> pp. 314, 3 and LA BARTHE <i>Histoire des Arts Industriels</i> Album pl 9. Paris 1864)

Name.	Location	Date	Remarks.
Chronicle of Gemblours	Nat. Libr. Paris Fr 636.	14 th	Small scenes in initials and squares
Passionale of Hautvillers.		14 th 2.	Miniatures. Advance of naturalism
Credo of the Eglise de Joinville	Nat. Libr., Paris	12 th	In the Gothic manner several portraits of St Louis.
Gospel book of the Ste Chapelle	" " " 17,216	13 th cent	Beautiful initial I. A. Bible characters in thirteenth century costumes
Psalter of Alphonso, son of Edward I	Brit Mus., Add 4,030.	c 14 th	Known as the Tenison Psalter. Executed probably at the Blackfriars London (See pl 4 in Sir E Maunde Thompson's article on initials). Illuminated Manuscripts in Bibliographica part IV show the art of illumination pp 15-23 and a description, with a list by B. A. Brown in the Fine Arts Quarterly Review 1917)
Bible	Brit. Mus. Turner 3	14 th -15 th	In two columns. Beautiful illuminated worth careful study
Origny Treasure-book	Roy. Libr. Berl. Print. Room M 13 38	15 th 15	Early attempts at shading in colours tender and broken tones (see WOLFFMAN and WORMAN'S History of Illumination 1905 1 cat.)
Somme le Roi	Brit. Mus., Add 25 162	c 1500	Contains nine full page illuminations.
Life of St Denis	Nat. Libr., Paris Fr 4,000-0	1316-1322	In 3 vols. (See Falkner book pl 1-6 WOLFFMAN and WORMAN'S History of Painting 1907 and RECHERCHES Gesch. etlader technique des Arts et des Metiers 1911) Portrait of Philip V in dedication page view of Paris. Beginning of genre painting. Birds dragons and drollies in ornamental shadows of draperies not black but deep local tone
Bible of William of Devon	Brit Mus., Roy 1 D 1	c 1310-15.	Beautiful text; fine work. A typical example of French style but English execution like the Tenison Psalter
Abbreviation figurall historie	Nat. Libr. 3,839	14 th	Thomas More executed for the Abbot of Ely. (See BROOKS D'Alton COURT History of Art pl. 9.)
Ormsby Psalter	Bedl. Libr. Douce 306. Oxford.	End of 13 th cent.	Nottingham MS. In French style but executed in England.

Name	Location	Date	Remarks
Bible	Brit Mus. Add. 17,591		Fine initials and bracket folios like the Evangelary of the Sainte Chapelle
Psalter of Queen Isabella.	Roy Libr Munich cod. Gall. 16.	1333	In Norm. French. Portrait of Isabella in initial A coats of arms, etc
Breviary of Bellaville	Nat Libr., Paris Lat 10453-4	c 1335	Executed probably for JeannedeClisson (See MOLINIER <i>Les Manuscrits</i> pp 251, 252)
Missal	Roy Libr The Hague	1333	Scribe Garnerus de Morolo illuminator Petrus de Raimbs court. (See WOLFFMANN and WOLFFMANN <i>History of Painting</i> 1888.) Remarkable for drolleries
Pontifical of Hugues de Bar Bishop of Verdun	Libr of Prince Lobkowitz Prag No 123	1338-61	29 representations of church ceremonies, stored initials and drolleries
Arundel Psalter	Brit Mus Arund. 63	1330 1380	Remarkable for drolleries and allegorical temple
Royal Psalter	" Roy 2 B vii	14th cent (early)	Fine lay folios, pen drawings and symbols drolleries very interesting scenes (See Paleograph Soc pl 99)
Miroir Historial	Arsenal Libr Paris	c 1350	An example of a very large folio MS richly illuminated
Livery of John II of France	Nat Libr Paris Fr 50	14th cent	Shows change from pen work to body-colour painting again.
Louterell Psalter	Brit Mus (entrusted to care of Trustees by the family of Weld of Lutworth)	c. 1310.	Richly diapered back grounds (See <i>Veue des Monuments</i> vi pl 10 25 with text)
Missal	Westminster Mus The Hague	1362.	Pen drawing superseded by brushwork <i>gouache</i> illuminated by Laurentius of Antwerp living at Ghent
Bible of John II called the Berry Bible	Brit Mus. Harl 4531	c 1358	Contains signature of the Duc de Berry
Bible of John II.	Nat Libr Paris, Fr 187	1356-64	Contains 2561 miniature scenes.
Livery of Charles V	Libr of St Genevieve Paris		
Bible of Charles V	Nat. Libr Paris Fr 2707	1364-80	Miniatures in camaeue style
Charte Royale Charles V	Archives nationales Paris J 54	c 1364	Contains portrait of Charles V in initial C. (See LECOCQ DE LA MARCHE <i>Les Manuscrits et la Miniature</i> p 157)

Name.	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Charte Royale Charles V.	Arch. res. nationales, Paris, L. 3.2.	c 1379	Containing portrait of the king in initial B. (See <i>LECOY DE LA MARCHE</i> p. 144.)
Charte Royal	" " K. 49	c 1372	Beautiful storied initial B. containing Blanche of Navarre. (See <i>LECOY DE LA MARCHE</i> p. 100.)
Chronicle of St Denis.	Nat. Libr., Paris, 8.393.	1375-80	Miniatures in camellau gris and gold (See <i>REVUE</i> Valéographie universelle pl. 130, and <i>LACROIX</i> and <i>SERZ</i> , <i>Le Moyen-âge et la Renaissance</i> II Miniatures, pl. 7.)
Heures de Jean duc de Berry	Roy. Libr., Brussels no 11,000	Before 1380	Two miniatures by André Beauneveu both reproduced in heliogravure in the following work and 13 by Jacquemart de Meudon. (See <i>DEHAENE</i> , <i>Illustrations de l'Art dans la Flandre</i> etc. p. 152. Lille, 1900) He describes also the Berry painter and (see <i>Heures</i> .)
Epistle to Richard II.	Brit. Mus. Roy. 49 B. vi	1370-80	Written in Paris. Delicate ivy foliage branches, and fine miniature. Portrait of Richard. (See <i>SHAW</i> <i>The Art of Illumination</i> pp. 24, 25.)
Offices of the Blessed Virgin	Brit. Mus., Harl. 497	1380	Called the Prayer Book of Margaret of Navarre, wife of Jean Sans Peur Duke of Burgundy. A fine typical MS. in every respect. (See <i>SHAW</i> pp. 24, 27.)
Les Miracles du Moine.	Nat. Libr. Paris, Fr. 2.519	—	Scenes of adventure peculiar of the borders (See <i>LECOY DE LA MARCHE</i> <i>The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages</i> pl. 13, and <i>SILVER</i> pl. L. 3.)

IMPORTANT FRENCH AND ANGLO-FRENCH MSS. XV CENTURY

Name	Location.	Date.	Remarks.
Petit Heures du duc de Berry	Nat. Libr. Paris, L. 15.014.	c. 1400	113 miniatures "d'une beauté parfaite" (See <i>SILVER</i> pl. 14, there as also given the name of the work "Heures de Louis (L. duc d'Anjou).")

Name	Location	Date	Remarks
Berry Psalter	Nat. Libr., Paris, Fr 13,991	1401	Exceedingly fine: 24 miniatures by André Beauneveu (See MO LINIER, p. 245)
Grandes Heures du Duc de Berry ¹	Nat. Libr. Paris Lat 919	1409	Illuminated by Jacquemart de Hesdin, André Beauneveu and Poul de Limbourg (See HUMPHREYS <i>The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages</i> pl. 21 WOLTMANN and WORMANN <i>History of Painting</i> 13 v 384, and SILVERSTEIN pl. 138)
Poems of Christine de Pisan	Brit Mus Harl 4431	Before 1406	Many miniatures and exceedingly fine illumination. Portraits of authors, etc.
Heures du duc de Berry	Libr of Duc de Aniale	Bevin c. 1410	Called Heures de Chantilly. Considered the finest illuminated book of the period (See also MOLINIER, <i>Les Manuscrits</i> p. 252; E. MONTZ, in <i>Gazette Archéologique</i> x 189 1 holo-engr., and A. LECOY DE LA MARCHE, in <i>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</i> 28, xxx, 74 1 holo-engr.)
The Shrewsbury Romances	Brit Mus, Roy 15 P vi	—	Many curious miniatures, borders etc. portraits of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou. Inserted by Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury on his kings marriage. (For this and the 4 following MSS., see VALLER DE VIRVILLE <i>Notice de quelques manuscrits écrits et peints en France durant l'époque de la domination Anglaise au 15^e siècle</i> Cuts Also in <i>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</i> Paris 1893.)
Breviarium Sarisburiense of John Duke of Bedford	Nat. Libr., Paris Lat 17,294	c. 1470	Exceedingly rich in miniatures and ornaments left unfinished. Partly French.
Offices of the Duke of Bedford.	Brit Mus, Ad 1 14,530	—	One of the richest illuminated books in existence full of manuscript borders and initials in brilliant colours and bright gold. English, French and Netherlandish (See R. GOGAN <i>An account of a rich illuminated Missal executed for John Duke of Bedford 1469</i> London 1791)

¹ For this Berry MS., and those previously mentioned see L. DELISLE in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 28, xxx.

Name.	Location.	Date	Remarks.
Pontifical of Jean Juvenal des Ursins		1413-1457	Formerly belonged to the municipality of Paris. It was burnt during the Revolution. Very large and very old parchment. It contains the pontifical of the Pope and the Mass. It is written in a very beautiful hand. It is now in the possession of the Library of the University of Paris.
Pontifical	Brit. Mus. 122. 230	1450	For the Pontifical and Mass.
Valerius Maximus	" " Harl. 451		
Roman de Grant de Nevers etc	Val. Libr. Paris. V. 1002. (V. 1002. 12. Valère 1002.)		For the Pontifical and Mass. It is written in a very beautiful hand. It is now in the possession of the Library of the University of Paris.
Titus Live trad de P. Bercheur	Brit. Mus. 122. 230	1450	For the Pontifical and Mass. It is written in a very beautiful hand. It is now in the possession of the Library of the University of Paris.

IX

GERMAN ILLUMINATION

After the death of Otho III. (*das Wunderkind*) a series of political troubles once more brought about a season of neglect and consequent decline of the arts. Nor did prosperity attend them until the accession of the second of the splendour loving Hohenstaufen Emperors, Frederic I (Barbarossa 1152-1190) a prince under whom the mediæval German Empire attained its highest pitch of grandeur. The glory reached by Barbarossa was somewhat fitfully continued by his eccentric but marvellously gifted grandson Frederic II (*Stupor Mundi* 1210-1250) whose court at Palermo was the resort of every one who had skill in art science or literature. For many years afterwards no such brilliant array of talents graced any European court. From this time however Italy began once again seriously to compete for the mastery in art and the Sicilian Muse and the Tuscan School of Painting led the movement with the verses of Vincenzo called Ciullo d'Alcamo and the *lingua cortegiana* of Palermo and the Madonnæ of Cimabue at Florence. The character of book illumination in the different parts of the great German or as it was called the Holy Roman Empire is naturally extremely varied but there is no absolutely violent change requiring distinct classification. The ornament continues to consist of the branch and leaf work originally derived from the School of Metz together with a characteristic preference for parti coloured panel frames. Of the miniatures some are of the outline sort with thin and narrow washes of colour others follow the Romanesque and Byzantine traditions with greenish grey flesh tints and dark red modelling finished in the high lights with white. Many of the examples already mentioned in the lists of the twelfth century are illustrative of the Hohenstaufen or last Romanesque branch of illumination which ceases only with the universal adoption of the new Gothic ideas about the middle of the thirteenth. French influence in consequence overpowers all native efforts in both the Italian and the Teutonic provinces. Nor except in Sardinia and Bohemia does any native bias distinctly point to any characteristic divergence from the well known French type. Other examples of true German art such as the Gospel book of Henry the Lion (c 1175) the Psalter of

Hermann of Thuringia the Weingarten Missal etc are evidence that the older national characteristics of German art temporarily obscured by the innovations of this fashionable French ascendancy are still those which reappear in the later productions of the Gothic period. For example the last named MS which is a kind of Choir book executed about 1200 and now kept in the Ambras collection at Vienna, shows the initials in *gouache* work of deep dull colours but laid on with considerable dexterity. This is the characteristic German manner. Again a Psalter in the Bamberg Cathedral Library contains a calendar with the usual month illustrations painted in *gouache*, two circlet medallions to each page. The zodiac signs are on green grounds. In French MSS such grounds are usually blue. It seems a trifling difference but it is really a national distinction. It is just the difference which often lies between French and German colour scheme. Its origin seems traceable to the Lombard illuminators of Monte Cassino then it appears in those of Lotharingia and the German side of the Carolingian Empire. But whatever its origin it is a sign of German as against French taste. The herakry of Germany is as much in evidence as the illumination.

It is a great pity that so little has been recorded with regard to the miniature art of the Hohenstaufen period. It certainly is deserving of more attention than it has received. That an age so conspicuously illustrious in literature and so crowded with political events should have been overlooked in the direction of art seems incredible, and I can only hope that it is only my own ignorance of materials that has made it seem so dark to me. But I have found no clear record of it at least on the German side. Some fitful and flickering gleams it is true flash now and then on the Sicilian and Italian jurisdictions. A solitary MS is shown as the relic of a sovereign who wore seven royal crowns who was king with a distinct kingship in Germany Lombardy Burgundy Sardinia Sicily, and Jerusalem who was a warrior, a scholar and a poet, master of four vernacular languages, devoted to the chase an authority on falconry, the centre of the most brilliant court in Europe and the handsomest prince of his time. We know he had a following of Minnesingers and that he encouraged literature and art. He must therefore have employed scribes and illuminators. Yet it is not until the accession of the House of Hapsburg that we meet with notable examples of miniature art. The death of Frederic II

marks the proximate end of the Romanesque in Germany. I say proximate for wherever the great highways into Italy were found there it lingered and flourished and so it comes to pass that Romanesque foliage survives in German MSS of the Gothic period conjoined with a pointed cusped and thorny set of accessories. Broadly speaking the Gothic of Germany is harder and thornier in the North and about the Rhine softer in the South and about the Danube. In brief German Gothic is always more or less under the influence of the older Romanesque. The Jaromir Bible in the Bohemian Museum at Prague is distinctly French in the origin of its illumination not withstanding the Bohemian name of its alleged artist, Bohuss (Bohusch or Bohuslav) of Leitmeritz. An initial 'I' contains the date 1258¹. On the other hand, the Weuzel Bible of the Vienna Library exhibits a totally different character of ornament. It was executed doubtless under Italian influence that of Tommaso da Modena who had worked at Prague for Wenzel's father the Emperor Charles IV. Somewhat more than a century had elapsed between the dates of the two MSS, and in the meantime Bohemian miniature had become almost a national art. From about 1350 a marked change separated German from both French and Italian art and it may be said that the Bohemian school is the basis of the change. A perhaps unsuspected and still wider influence of this school founded by Charles IV will show itself in another direction still later. This distinguished patron, the grandson of the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg and son of the blind John of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia whose romantic death at Crécy is remembered in English history, came to reside at Prague in 1346. He had been educated in Paris with his cousins Charles afterwards Charles V of France, Louis Duke of Anjou, and John Duke of Berry, all celebrated for their possession of costly illuminated books. On the death of John the Knight-errant whom says the poet annalist—*Rien ne retenoit fors l'honneur*—Charles (who at first was named Wenzel but afterwards took this name) became King of Bohemia at the age of 30 and in the following year was elected emperor. The year of his election was signalized by the

¹ Cut in BUCHNER *Geschichte der technischen Künste* 1 219. I think it is better however to treat it as a forgery. See WOLFFMANN *Zur Geschichte der Böhmisches Naturmalerei Aufdeckung von Fälschungen*. In *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 11 2. Stuttgart 13 9.

² Guillaume de Machault.

founding of the University of Prague in which establishment he took the liveliest interest. Preferring Prague as his imperial residence he greatly beautified the city and built the famous bridge over the Moldau until quite recently the most picturesque bridge in Europe. His tastes like his father's were French only more distinctly literary and artistic. Of his four wives the first was the sister of Philip VI of France. Her four daughters married respectively the King of Hungary, the Duke of Austria, the Duke of Milan and the Burgrave of Nuremberg. The son of his third wife was the dissipated Wenzel who succeeded him in Bohemia. By his fourth wife he had a son Sigismund afterwards Emperor and a daughter Anne who became Queen of England where her goodness made her a memory revered and her refined tastes created an epoch in English art. Charles died in 1378 leaving won by his accomplishments a reputation seldom surpassed and leaving a royal residence enriched with costly treasures of art. His daughters inherited his splendid tastes and his fondness for literature and carried their literary influence to the already cultured courts of their husbands. The great Gospel book of the Archduke Albert II of Austria by Johann von Troppau or Johannes de Oppavon finished in 1368, shows calligraphic skill of the highest class.¹ The Golden Bull of Charles of which at least two illuminated copies are extant is splendidly if not altogether perfectly represented by that of the Vienna Imperial library and the so called Wenzel Bible in six large folio volumes two of which are richly adorned with initial vignettes and borders is certainly one of the grandest MSS of the period. This magnificent Bible was begun just before the king's death to which event is doubtless owing its unfinished state. Both the Troppau Gospel book and the Wenzel Bible are now at Vienna. The introduction of Italian artists sent from the court of Milan to Prague marks a definite departure from the hitherto characteristic French style and the above mentioned Bible is a typical example of the change. It has the soft curling foliages found in the illuminated work of Lower Bavaria. In this change to softer foliages and that in the figure painting with its fresh rosy flesh tints this Bohemian work is clearly recognizable as the actual source of the sudden change which takes place in the style of English illumination under Richard II. Until the arrival of Anne of Bohemia English

¹ Example in SILVESTER *Paleographie manuscrite* pl. 21

work is barely distinguishable in its features from the French of the same date. Immediately afterwards we find the new style with its coiling three lobed soft-leaved, varicoloured foliages has attained popularity in every leading scriptorium in England, from St Albans to Wearmouth and from Norwich to Exeter. So rapidly is it developed that by the time of Henry IV it is the peculiar English style distinguishable from both French and German. A close study of the Wenzel Bible illuminations with reference to others executed at St Albans has led me to point out their similarity and to conclude that the real introducers of the latter were not artists from the court of Paris but artists from that of Prague who accompanied the young princess from her father's palace in 1381. For 13 years all too brief a time for England's welfare "good Queen Anne" as she was popularly called was the leader of every movement in art. One of her favourite studies was heraldry as indeed it was a favourite study of the time and to her patronage is due the first English treatise on the subject. Under English illumination we may examine this question of its origin more attentively. Here we have to do rather with Bohemia itself where it is a departure in an Italian direction from French which forms the national style. While French illumination attaches itself to the thornier and more delicate fronds of holly and ivy German fixes itself rather upon the thick stems and close coils of twelfth century Romanesque floral ornament and out of them develops a most graceful sweeping stem and three lobed leafage on a scheme of linear design finely and carefully proportioned. The stem work of France solidifies the long pen flourishes of the latest Romanesque calligraphy into a slender branch-work of subtler curvature than that of Germany supported with cusps of gold or colour. At first the stems are rather bare of leafage and form the locale of little figures or scenes of various kinds but they eventually expand into full sprays of well formed leaves adding flowers birds, and insects. In both styles this is the final result. The amusements and sports of the time are always faithfully chronicled in the little figures and vignettes which survive until they are adopted among the cuts of the early printed books of Hours.

All along the Rhine from Zwolle to the borderland of Silesia and the Tyrol the Rhemish German is the prevailing taste more or less cusped and Gothic yet always quite distinct from Norman-French and Parisian, while inland

from the Rhine, in Suabia, Franconia Bavaria Bohemia, and the south east generally the stem is almost entirely covered with a soft twining foliage, of which the two types are seen in the Wenzel Bible at Vienna and in the copy of the first printed Bible now in the Mazarine Library at Paris. Another splendid example of the Bohemian German of the period (1387) is the copy of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Wilhelm von Oranien* in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The same style was practised at Nuremberg in 1380 possibly carried thither also from Prague, in the train of Princess Margaret of Bohemia wife of the Burggrave John. A Book of Prayers written by Jodocus de Weronar, similar to the Vienna Bible in all respects except skill of workmanship is now in the British Museum. The initials which contain figures of Christ and various saints on coloured grounds diapered with pencil gold are in the characteristic coloured frames. The letters are surface-foliaged i.e. have their surfaces filled in with the same soft curling foliage which are used for the brackets of branch-work outside the text. These foliages are green blue rose and scarlet worked in *gouache*, shaded with deeper tones and laid on with a tolerably strong and gummy vehicle. The gold diapers are finished with great precision and delicacy. This is the general character of all this style of illumination. The examples in the library collection are very numerous. Among the best are 1107 (31) 1107 (14), 3055 236 (5) and others. A later development converts some of the foliages into faces as 1107 (30) and 7637.

Of the Western or Rhemish variety, there are also many, some of which are strikingly skilful in execution as e.g., 236 (5) 283 (1) 1105 (7) 1107 (19) 1107 (22) 3055, 3071 405 and others.

Of an intermediate or transitional kind are the fragments executed for some patron whose initial appears to be a German or Gothic *r*. The work is almost English in its character. It is interesting as containing a couchant hart the well known badge of several English princes and nobles.

More or less mixed also of Rhemish and Bavarian is the illumination executed by H. Cremer, of Mainz about 1450,

¹ The chronicle though reproduced from the MS. area seems a summary, *Deutsches Leben im XII und XIII Jahrhundert* (Leipzig 1892) p. 12 ff. Wien 1892.

² The MS. (Add. 12690) calls itself *Leber des Heiligen Friedrich* but is really a German translation of the *Modistica de laudibus* of St. Anselm. It is very coarsely executed.

in the celebrated Mazarine Bible Additional MS 15,711, British Museum, shows a late and highly developed condition of the national style. It is a Book of Offices of the Virgin executed for the Abbot of a monastery in Upper Carinthia in 1513¹. Of this late work many examples are preserved. Very similar are the MSS executed by the Glockendons of Nuremberg as for instance, the Missal and Prayer Book of the Elector Albert of Brandenburg Archbishop of Mainz described by Merkel². A Prayer Book of the highest degree of excellence by Albert Glockendon whose brother Nicholas painted the Aschaffenburg MSS is now in the Imperial Library (no 1880) at Vienna. There is still another of Glockendon's MSS in the Vienna Library, (no 1849) but the former is the richer example. No 1880 is called the Prayer Book of William IV Duke of Bavaria, and is dated 1535³. It once belonged to the Archduchess Margaret sister of the celebrated Ferdinand of the Tyrol. Waagen considered it one of the richest illuminated books he had ever seen. It is indeed a monument of the most extraordinary technical skill, and recalls the powerful influence of Albert Durer, who was the Glockendons master. It even combines this with something of the manner of Holbein and adds other features both of Netherlandish and Italian taste. Some portions are almost pure Renaissance, others as frankly Gothic. Certain miniatures are quite marvellous for their exquisite finish. The Shepherds at Bethlehem, the Flight into Egypt and the Coronation of the Virgin are masterly imitations of Durer's paintings of the same subjects in the Belvedere. The colouring both in miniatures and ornaments is exceedingly brilliant. The colours include minimum of the finest purity, vermilion lake, rich ultramarine, violet two tones of green, one yellowish and bright the other a rich veronese, and pure yellow. Besides these there are diapers and enrichments in gold and silver inks. Some of the vignettes are surpassingly lovely, as the one at the foot of folio 61, a green hairy woman, *la belle sauvage*, with an infant in her arms, resisting a rampant lion while a savage man behind attacks him with a club. The examples of German art of all periods are exceedingly numerous in the library

¹ See also Add MS 17525 which is extremely refined in execution.

² *De Miniaturen und Manuscripte der K. Bayerischen Hofbibliothek in Aschaffenburg* pp 7-10. Engr Aschaffenburg, 1836.

³ J. A. C. M. DEKIS *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis* II, 91. Vindobonae 1809.

collection and some possess great beauty. One example may be specially pointed out as the work of a miniaturist of considerable ability well known and frequently mentioned in the annals of the monastery to which he belonged but whose work elsewhere has hitherto been unheard of. It is a complete full page frontispiece from a Choir book containing psalms chants hymns etc. once used in the Abbey of SS Ulrich and Afra at Augsburg and from its dimensions it may be considered a work of some importance apart from the fact of its identification. By taking trouble such as I believed the work to deserve I have been fortunate enough to fix its exact date place of execution and authorship points of supreme value in the study of works of miniature art which are so often unsigned and so rarely dated. These three facts should always be sought for by the student as the ground work of all accurate historical knowledge. The present miniature I find was painted 1494-95 in the Abbey of SS Ulrich and Afra at Augsburg by George Meck or his son. The manuscript was written by Leonhard Wagner who is shown in the miniature presenting the book to the Abbot John of Güttingen. It is also interesting to me now for the sake of comparison that the large psalter which contained it was completed in about a year including both the writing and the miniatures. We may form some idea of the wide spread taste for the style of foliage ornament found with but slight variation in Rhenish Swabian Bavarian and even Austrian illumination towards the end of the 15th century when we learn that this later style of the Nuremberg MSS executed by the Glockensons for the Elector Albert and Duke William IV is assigned by the universal consent of German writers to the school of Cologne. A MS in the University Library at Heidelberg is so designated. The student will find many examples in the library collection and several MSS in the British Museum* that might almost be attributed to the same hand so absolutely akin are they in taste and manner of execution.

After 1500 the growing influence of the Italian Renaissance greatly altered the character of German ornament, producing a tendency to abandon the hitherto characteristic foliage for the new architectural taste. Among many examples of this change we may place the celebrated Prayer book of William Count of Baden, in two volumes, now in the National Library Paris†. No trace of Gothic feeling

* 1 of 10 D 463*

† 2 vols. Vol. I 1505 1511 Vol. II 1511 1513 etc

the fifteenth century. As for the cartouches and frames of the pictures the flowers and flourishes they need not be criticised. The book which is intensely anti Romanist is a curiosity remarkable even among the enormous polemic theology of Germany.

CHARACTERISTICS OF GERMAN ILLUMINATION

FIGURE—Much inferior at the beginning of the fourteenth century to the French work of the same period. Expression of the heads childish, with upturned eyes, hair carefully drawn, draperies meaningless. For some time the French style quite overpowers native work. Animals rudely drawn. The best examples at this time of German work are those executed at Prague under the Emperor Charles IV.

LANDSCAPE AND BACKGROUNDS—As in French work but less skilful. The Gothic taste has almost entirely replaced older forms in the architecture and landscape. Dispersed backgrounds are preferred to landscape. Sometimes in flat colour only, sometimes in colour enriched with golden stars.

ORNAIMENT—As in French but with a preference for a broader and heavier kind of foliage which is afterwards specially characteristic of German work with deeper stronger and gaudier colouring. The usual form is a long sweeping stem with three lobed & symmetrical fronds of leaves very gracefully drawn and often accompanied by small figures of persons, engaged in games hunting or fighting animals bird or insects. Large studs, patines, and cusps of burnished gold fringed with gold or black penwork. Another variety has thickly leaved branches in bright colours and a similar gold enrichment. The later style seems to have originated in Bohemia.

TECHNIC—The illuminators directions sometimes found in MSS. as in the Wenzel Bible and the Wilhelm von Oranise at Vienna show the intended treatment of the letter or miniature. Dexterous pen drawing filled in with flat soft body colour, is the method during French influence. The faces are left uncoloured, with slight tints on lips cheeks eyes and hair. A change from this mode of painting takes place about 1310 in the use of broken tones of colour and attempts at shading without pen lines. About 1335 shadows are painted in darker local colour the outlines seldom left. After

1350 the school of Prague rapidly abandons all traces of its French origin. The fine pen outline is continued but colour is applied in thin soft washes at first. Afterwards the colour becomes more powerful but is softly gradated, with warm flesh tones, and a radiant effect. Pure scarlet and blue, a fine, peculiarly bright green, and violet are among the colours used, without crudeness. The vehicle is much thinner and softer than in the older methods.

BOHEMIAN AND GERMAN MANUSCRIPTS
XIV—XVIII CENTURIES

Name	Location	Date	Remarks
Sachsenspiegel of R. tter Lake Rep. on	Univ. Libr. Heidel- berg	13th cent (late)	With coarse pen-draw- ings. (See HERVEN ALTYFCK Trachten etc. Kunstwerke etc. 2 ed. etc. II pl. III and Korr. Lieder und S. kisten der Vorzeit I 43 Col. eig. Mann I am, 18.1)
Tristan of Coltried v Strassburg	Roy. Libr. Munich Germ. 51 Cimel 27	c 1300	25 illuminations. Cha- racteristic pen-drawn figures. Colours 1 backgrounds. (See KORFF Kunstwerke Ministuren p. 43 1 photolith. ALTYF- CK pl. 216 KOLBE Alte S. kisten I 84, 85) and WOLFFMANN and WOLFFMANN, History of Painting, I 370)
Minnelieder	Nat. Libr., Paris Fr 7264.	c 1300	Containing 114 very in- teresting miniatures of hunting and other scenes. Good for cos- tumes and landscape very slight.
Wolfram von Eschen- bach	Roy. Libr., Berlin Roy. Libr., Stuttgart	1300 1250	
Wilhelm von Oranien von Eschenbach	Publ. Libr., Cassel	1334	Written for Landgrave Henry of Hesse. Important style of art. (See HUGLER, Alte S. kisten I 43 2 cols.)
Biblia Pauperum.	Abbey of St. Florian Austria.	c 1350	(See A. CAMERLIN and C. HOFER Die Darstell- ung in der Biblia Pau- perum Mit 21 Taf. in Wien 1863, and for notes on the sand other M. LAIN and SCH- WARTZ, Biblia Pau- perum with illustra- tions of a Biblia Pauperum in the Bibl. mss. d. d. d. Cologne. Zurich 18 and O. A. SPITZER 12 Mit Gildesack 117 gezeichnet von St. Hieronymus Cille to C. H. Luthger)

Name	Location	Date	Remarks
The Bible of the Emperor Wenzel (1380-1400)	Imp Libr Vienna, 10 2753	—	Executed for Martin Rolow to present to Emperor Wenzel. Very curious miniatures (See LAMBECH <i>Commentarii Liber II 731 Engr</i>)
Gospel book of Johannes de Oppavia	Imp Libr Vienna	1308	Beautiful text and ornaments of borders. Bohemian (See SILVESTRE pl 221 and Oppavia in my <i>Dietschman's</i> of <i>Minuten</i> etc.)
Wilhelm von Oranien of Wolfram von Lachenbach	Ambraser Libr. Vienna 10 2753	1387	Executed for presentation to Emperor Wenzel
Salzburg Missal	For Libr Munich 1st 13710	—	5 folio volumes. A splendidly illuminated book. It has been reproduced in a tour
Weltchronik of Rudolf von Hohenheim	Publ Libr Stuttgart no 10	1343	Large vol. Miniatures. 1 book now at Wolfenbüttel. Of the Westphalian School
Rationale of Durandus	Imp Libr., Vienna, 10 2753	1351	Written for Duke Albert III. of Austria. In the later German or Bohemian manner. Paintings. Initials. (See WOLF MANN and WOLF MANN <i>History of Painting I 304, 351</i> and LAMBECH <i>Commentarii Liber II 731, 2 Engr</i>)
The Golden Bull of Charles IV (1356-78)	Imp Libr Vienna, Juchacz 233	c 1379	Rich foliages of soft leaved character. Miniatures. Initials to ornament. (See LAMBECH <i>Commentarii Liber II, p. 611</i>)
Eurymever Bible	Wallenstein Libr., München	1400, c 1400.	
Kuttlenberg Gradual	Imp Libr., Vienna 10 2753	14th cent	In Lachemian style.
Missal of St. Innocent Hasen von Hasenburg	Imp. Libr. Vienna no. 1344	1100	Written for St. Innocent, Archbishop of Prague; very like the Kuttlenberg work; fine initials and borders (See WOLF MANN and WOLF MANN <i>History of Painting I 304</i>)
Book of Hours	Priv. Coll. Adl. 1113	1400	Early initials; not good work

Name	Location	Date	Remarks
Würzburg Bibl	Brit Mus. Around 196.	15th cent	Large folios, handsome initials, bright colours and bold drawing
Prayer Book of Maria, Duchess of Cleves	Roy Libr Berlin.	1413	Executed at Marimborn, near Arnheim by brother Helmsch
Hildesheim Prayer Book	Roy Mus Berlin.	1410	Influence of School of Cologne
The All Saints	—	—	Beautiful illumination, notes in fort, airiness
Choir Books of Sister Margaret.	Pub Libr Nuremberg	1435-1440	By a Carthusian monk of St Catherine's
Bremen Prayer Book	Pub Libr Bremen	c 1400	English or Netherlandish influence in the miniatures and borders
Missal of the Emperor Frederick III	Imp Libr Vienna.	1446	
Miracles, etc of St Jerome	Pub Libr Stuttgart	c 1435	
Gospel Book	Pub Libr Nuremberg	1495	43 miniatures, splendid coloured borders and initials by Conrad Frankendorfer (See Frankendorfer in my Dictionary of Manuscripts)
Choir Book of SS Ulrich and Afra Augsburg	Abber of SS Ulrich and Afra Augsburg	1493	
Horae	Univ Libr Heidelberg	1410	6 volumes. Miniatures and rich borders
Offices of the Virgin	Brit Mus. Add 15-11	1513.	For a book for a monastery in Upper Carinthia.
Missal and Prayer Book of Albert of Brandenburg Archbishop of Mainz.	Libr of the Castle of Aschaffenburg	1400	Executed by V Cloekendon of Nuremberg. Very fine work (See Merkel <i>De Minutis</i> in <i>de haffenburg</i>)
Prayer Book of William IV of Bavaria	Imp Libr Vienna no. 188	1300.	By Albert Cloekendon. A most sumptuous MS
Book of Hours, or (Leibniz)	Brit Mus. Add. 17, 403	1481.	In the Cloekendon style
Penitential Psalms.	Roy Libr Munich (see above)	1500	Executed by Hans Meichling for Duke Albert V (See Meichling in my Dictionary of Manuscripts)
— Splendor Solis.	Brit Mus. Harl. 2, 609	15th cent	An alchemical MS on the transmutation of metals and richly illuminated in the style of the Renaissance
Book of Hours.	Brit Mus. Harl. 2, 114	—	Fine illuminated MS

Name	Location	Date.	Remarks.
"Lusthoff"	Brit Mus Add 2003.	17th cent	Large late German penmanship
Book of Hours	Brit Mus Harl 2808	—	Rather good text
Prayer Book of William of Baden.	Nat Libr Paris nos. 10,567-8	1647	2 octavo volumes. No trace of Gothic work Executed by Fr Brentel of Strasburg Highly finished (See SILVESTRE pl 227 and Brentel in my <i>Dictionnaire of Miniaturists</i>)
Augsburg Sunday Book	Brit Mus Add 27,339-41.	1748	Laborious but inartistic and gaudy miniatures cartouches etc. Executed by J G Bueckh

X

ITALIAN ILLUMINATION

It has been said that the basis of every national style since the thirteenth century is French; and this is nowhere seen to be truer than in Italy. But nowhere was the style more rapidly transmuted and nationalised. The examples, still extant, of the earlier efforts of the Franco-Lombard Schools of Monte-Cassino, La Cava, and the Benedictine Monasteries generally¹ are either strongly Celtic, as being still under the influence of the calligraphers brought thither by St. Columban and his co-workers, or else weak and unskilful imitations of the contemporary art of France. On the other hand, in the work of the Siennese and Bolognese miniaturists following the old Byzantine traditions, there is a perceptible tendency towards the formation of a style differing from all its predecessors, and in the Sicilian MSS executed for Frederick II, the aim at naturalistic treatment is conspicuous, although the result is rough and by no means satisfactory to modern eyes². A Psalter in the Laureotian Library is distinctly Italian³ in its calendar picture, antique in costume, and fairly good in proportion. Similarly distinct from its French models is the "Summa" of Azo of Bologna, in the library at Laon.⁴ Azo was professor of Law in the University of Paris, in the thirteenth century, and presumably the MS is copied from a French predecessor. Still more emphatically Italian is a collection of the Letters of St. Bernard, also in the Library at Laon⁵. The latter MS is dated 1330, and is one of the earliest Italian MSS known to bear a date. Already the ornament has diverged from the French type and assumed the peculiar straight bar or rod with profile foliage, and the sudden reversions of the curves which are characteristic of the ornament of almost all fourteenth century MSS executed in Italy. An example is given in Humphreys:

¹ For the MSS. of La Cava, see P. GUILLAUME, *Essai historique sur l'Abbaye de Cava*. Cava dei Lupeni, Naples, 1877. For those of Monte Cassino, see A. CARAVITA, *I Codici e le Arti a Monte Cassino*. Monte Cassino, 1869-71.

² *Liber de Venatione avium*. Vatican Library, Hist. Nat. 1071. Written by the Emperor Frederick II himself.

³ No. 700. Thirteenth century.

⁴ No. 352. See FLEURY, *Les Manuscrits . . . de Laon*, II, 67. A lithogr. in 1227, a catalogue of books left by Cardinal Guala to the monastery of S. Andrea at Vercelli, proves that most of them were of French execution.

⁵ No. 168. See FLEURY, II, 62. A lithogr.

being of the time of the transition from Byzantine to the school of Giotto. The examples at Siena and Florence however are of the Sienese and Veronese type. A good example of each occurs in the library collection. No country shows greater variety in its various schools than Italy and very specially their works came to differ so distinctly as to be easily assignable to their different centres of production. Some show strong Romanesque influence observable in the Law Books in the architectural accessories which suggests the presence of that type rather than the Gothic. Mostly it is the earlier work which has this character and it is usually assigned to the school or at least to the influence of Giotto. A fine MS in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge is very properly attributed to that influence. But as Giotto worked both in Naples and Florence the general suggestion brings us very little nearer the true locality of its origin. The more sombre and earthy the character, the more likely it is to have arisen in Naples or Calabria. Some examples delight in peculiar gamuts of colour. These may point to certain localities having had prevalent schemes of colour with fixed rules as to their combination. Thus bright minium used with fine Italian ochre as well as gold is often a powerful element in the colour arrangement of the Sienese workers. A dull brown ochre and deeper cinnabar belong to Central Italy and a fondness for green and lake marks the illuminators of Padua and Verona the green more especially prevailing towards Venice. A more resonant and German taste prevails in the Milanese until the Renaissance when every school even that of Palermo turns over an entirely new leaf. These of course are only rough distinctions very general in character for much depends on the individuality of masters, and allowance must be made for the fact that during the fifteenth century at least it was their custom to wander from city to city and from one convent to another to fulfil their commissions. During the latter part of the fourteenth century perhaps the Veronese and Bolognese artists were most prolific, during the fifteenth those of Florence, towards its close those of Milan, and still later those of Venice and Rome while from the revival of the art in Italy in the thirteenth century until the middle of the fourteenth the chief centres had been Bologna, Naples and Palermo. An example, not worth all the praise which has been bestowed upon it of Sicilian or more probably Avignon illumination is the celebrated MS executed by order of Louis of Anjou King of Sicily

and Jerusalem, containing the statutes of the order of the *Knot*, or of the Holy Spirit, founded in 1352. The MS is perhaps contemporary with the foundation. It is clever to a certain extent, showing practised facility of hand and some taste in design but it is not to be compared with the Parisian work of the same date, executed for the same prince and his brothers.¹ Very similar to it in style are the Bible and Missal of Clement VII of Avignon. They are, we must remember, contemporary with the Parisian MSS of John duke of Berry.

To enter upon the history of Italian illumination with proper accuracy would require much more space than can be afforded in this introduction. Even to characterise in detail its various styles is impossible. In diversity of border and initial ornament, from the Sicilian white vine stem and Moresque enamel-background to the rich acanthus foliages of Florence and Rome, with the intermediate varieties of Verona, Padua, and Venice, and from the age of Oderigi and Giotto to that of the Dei Libri, Francesco da Castello, Attavante, Gherardo, and Clovio—not to mention the crowd of other masters, who illuminated choir-books, missals, diplomas, ducal, histories, poems, and armorials of the sixteenth century—Italy is simply unrivalled and inexhaustible. Almost every large public library is rich in Italian MSS, the British Museum especially so. Some of these are examples from the libraries of celebrated patrons, such as the Kings of Naples, the Dukes of Milan, Florence and Urbino, and many Popes, Cardinals, and Bishops, others are fine copies of precious works executed for private individuals. Every age, and almost every style worth study, is represented, while among the examples are some of altogether exceptional excellence and splendour. In the Soane Museum there are a few other examples, and in the Bodley and Fitzwilliam Libraries some of very great interest. There are, however, several examples in the National Art Library which call for special notice, owing to their apparently doubtful character as Italian work. They are a number of initial letters numbered 1504–8. Several good judges have thought them to be German, and they certainly possess some characteristics of German execution and taste. Their similarity to the contemporary style of Milanese illumination furthers this

¹ The MS is in the Nat. Libr., Paris MS Fr 4274. It has been splendidly reproduced in gold and colour (1" chromo-lithogr.) with an essay on miniature painting and a description of the manuscript by Count Horace de Viel Castel (Paris, 1853).

opinion, but that they are really Italian can be shown from many evidences. In the first place a series of letters from the same MS. by the same hand is preserved in the British Museum in an Atlas of cuttings (Add. MS. 22,710, ff. 11, 12), which may be compared with Add. MS. 18,197 and Harl. MS. 2,326 the last being unquestionably a MS. executed in Italy in 1456. Work of this identical type also might be pointed out which dates from Bologna, Modena and even Milan, places easily accessible to the same itinerant craftsmen. Compare also 15,844, which was executed at Bologna and has a very similar character of foliage treatment. It is indeed possible that the artist who painted these letters was by nation a German for both the Estensi of Modena and the Visconti and Sforzas of Milan employed "Artisti Tedeschi" or "d'Alamagna" as they were called. Harl. MS. 4,922, a copy of the *Epitome* of Justin has foliages with similar technical treatment. It is dated 1473, and bears the motto "Mit Zeit" on one of its ornaments, proving it to have belonged to one of the Visconti of Milan. Add. MS. 22,318, a Latin Plutarch translated by Leonardo Arctino, is another example of a similar class of work. This MS. is useful to the student as having been left unfinished by the illuminator. Add. MS. 17,294 again, another probably Bolognese MS., bears the arms of the Dukes of Ferrara. Its influence is mainly that of Girolamo of Cremona, a Veronese artist, but an itinerant worker. The same stamp is observable in Add. MS. 16,260 and Harl. MS. 2,796. All the main features in these MSS. may be traced in Milanese work, as e.g., in the beautiful Pontificale of the Fitzwilliam Library 7 E. 2, which contains the mixed kind of work so difficult to locate without specific information, but which is presumably assignable to Milan or its vicinity. Its date is shortly after 1473. Fitzwilliam MS. 6 E. 1 is similar to 7 E. 2, and proves its locality from its Calendar. The Gothic spirit in all these examples is another element which adds to their ultramontane character. A MS. in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, has the same style of foliages as these just enumerated, and it may be compared with the Estensi MSS. especially. A reproduction of one of its beautiful initials is given in the *Museo Español de Artiguerías* IV, 347.

Of the later Italian schools, with the exception of some Venetian initials and bracket borders of the sixteenth

¹ A page from a MS. (no. 1) in the *Proverbia* Lib., Rome, reproduced on p. 121 of *Cormier's Examples* shows you not the same kind of work. It was executed for Duke d'Alba of Ferrara (1575-1611).

century, few examples occur in the present collection. The most influential of this later work is that executed for the Medici of Florence and Rome, but the architectonic taste of the later Milanese and Genoese, as seen in the various Sforziadas, in the fine Bible in the Library of the University of Glasgow, bearing the device and arms of one of the Fregosi of Genoa, in the numerous MSS executed for the Aragonese Kings of Naples, and in one at Vienna, for the Duke of Atri puts them also in the highest rank of the illuminator's art.

The works of the Gherardo or Attavantesca school of Florence¹ of Antonio da Monza, of Milan;² of Francesco da Castello at Lambach in Austria,³ of the Florentine and Roman schools by various masters,⁴ of the later Neapolitan and Genoese schools, of which examples exist in several Spanish libraries are all worth attentive study as indicative of the immense variety to which allusion has been made and as exhibiting the practice of the latest illuminators many of whose finest performances are found on the pages of finely printed vellum books, or of MSS executed long after the date of Gutenberg's Mainz Bible. The Bodley Pliny, the St Florian Breviary, the Grenville and Paris Sforziadas are instances of this kind, all being printed books, and all, or nearly all, issued from the press of Nicolas Jenson of Venice. Materials for the study of Italian miniature are abundant, and more are constantly forthcoming.

Among the older writers on art, much interesting information may be found in G. Della Valle *Lettere Senesi sopra le Belle Arti*⁵ respecting the Tuscan illuminators as also in A. T. Rio, *The Poetry of Christian Art*, and in the notes of the Anonimo of Morelli.⁶ Father V. Marchese, in his *Lives of Dominican Artists*,⁷ deals especially with the illuminators of San Marco at Florence. More recently Caravati tells the story of the Monte Cassino MSS,

¹ Photographic reproductions in the National Art Library, and Add MS 21412 in the British Museum.

² Brit Mus Add 21413.

³ See ARNHEIM in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* ix 401.

⁴ British Museum Add 2141^o 33977, 1477^o Harl 2857 Burney 333, etc Bodley Library, Canonici 383, etc.

⁵ Venezia 1782-86.

⁶ Notizia d'opere di disegno nel prima metà del secolo XVI scritta da un Anonimo Pubblicata e illustrata da J. Morelli. Bassano, 1800. 2 ed. riveduta ed aumentata per cura di G. Frizzoni. Bologna 1884.

⁷ Translated with notes, etc. by C. P. Meehan. Dublin, 1854.

and the sixth volume of Le Monnier's edition of Vasari¹ gives a minute account of the illuminated Choir books executed for the cathedrals of Florence and Siena with notices of the artists including the greatest masters of the later Florentine school. The author of that account has promised a still more comprehensive history of Italian miniature. Numerous notices and particulars also more especially respecting Ferrara are afforded by the *Memorie originali Italiani riguardanti le Belle Arti* edited by M. A. Gualandi.* The miniaturists of Venice are spoken of in the *Atti dell' Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia* for 1857 especially with regard to the large class of works called Ducal or Commissions from the Doge to the appointed magistrates of Venetian towns.³ Muntz has published notes on Roman miniaturists⁴ and G. Canpori on those of the Estensi of Modena and Ferrara.⁵

A vast amount of information respecting Italian MSS may be found in Delisle's *Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, though it professes only to deal with the French National Library and its contents. Indeed the sources of knowledge on this branch of our study are practically inexhaustible, and the amount of examples extant in various libraries almost endless. I could not without immense difficulty put together the names of writers and the titles of articles in periodicals from whom and which I have myself gleaned scraps of information about MSS. But any determined student will pick up knowledge on his favourite theme, through being constantly on the alert. To enter more deeply into the matter of sources would be to begin a bibliography for which we have not space, but if the student is quite in earnest he has enough to put him on the track, and his reading will lead him on from author to author, while frequent studies in this collection and others such as the British Museum and the Bodleian will be the best means of enriching his memory and gratifying his taste.⁶

¹ *Nuove e dagli 101 documenti inediti per servire alla storia della Miniatura Italiana* in G. VASARI, *La vita de più eccellenti Pittori* Firenze 1846-70.

* Bologna 1840-45.

³ See BIBLIOGRAPHICAL, pt 7.

⁴ *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au xiv^e siècle. Notes et documents* Paris 1886.

⁵ *Noti se dei Miniatori dei Principi Estensi*.

⁶ Some idea of the character of the later Ital in Renaissance styles may be gathered from the plates to Labarte's *Histoire des Arts industriels* and Curmer's *Évangiles des Dimanches et Fêtes* though the latter are mainly adaptations to the object of the volume rather than exact facsimiles.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ITALIAN ILLUMINATION, XIV CENTURY

FIGURE—The new Tuscan manner of painting entirely refashions miniature art. The figure becomes natural, well proportioned and graceful; the heads delicate in feature and truthful in expression. The leading schools, after Bologna, are those of Verona and Florence. The costumes are carefully wrought; the drapery folds soft and yet often elaborately finished. By the end of the century miniature art is only an imitation of that of the painter.

LANDSCAPE ETC.—At first very slight and merely suggestive but afterwards carefully studied from nature especially in the matter of skies, trees, and distances. Buildings acquire perspective accuracy.

ORNAMENT—The slender straight rod supported by rings and bosses and bearing graceful foliages often suddenly reversed accompanied by many fringed patines of burnished gold and beautifully delicate pen work diapers is the first form of Italian border and initial ornament. The initials in gold and colours contain stories or figures; those in pen work are only very elaborately enriched with pen work fringes and tendrils. This is succeeded by the Sicilian white stem work, with fine pen work fringe ornament and burnished gold patines and bars and afterwards with the medallions, vases, candelabra and figures of the full Renaissance. The white stem ornament is prevalent throughout the whole peninsula but more especially in the south, until the middle of the following century.

TECHNIC.—Strong saturated *gorache*, with high finish. Burnished and punctured gold used in grounds. Flesh tints laid on a pale green under wash. Sicilian painting sombre and dark in tone. Umbrian heavy, but rich in colour. Tuscan bright and inclined to gaudiness.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ITALIAN ILLUMINATION, XV-XVI CENTURIES.

FIGURES—The miniatures of the Tuscan and Veronese schools of the early part of the fifteenth century are of the same character as easel painting. There is not a separate and distinct treatment but an endeavour to produce in a minute form and within the limits of

inches the effects aimed at in larger work. The school of Siena more especially, abandons the pen outline and shades with deep pure colour, the modelling is treated in the same spirit as if the works were intended to be magnified and while extreme neatness of finish is not neglected still the work seems to be that of an artist who understood mural painting. In the sixteenth century, there is really no difference in manner between the miniature of a book and the wall painting of a room but such as is owing to the difference of dimensions. The miniatures of the Florentine school are complete paintings and the miniaturists are frequently men who do larger work of that kind or are mosaicists or goldsmiths besides. The school of Verona, at first mannered and limited in its aims gradually merges into those of Florence Venice or Milan. When the Renaissance changes the ornamental accessories, it is the school of Florence that leads the rest.

LANDSCAPE ETC.—As in the ordinary schools of painting
ORNAMENT—Though making use of Cinquecento architectural features still, especially in Florence somewhat under Gothic influence. It gradually becomes overloaded and debased.

TECHNIC—Constantly tending more and more to mere water colour painting, whether in tempera or transparent colour. This reaches its climax in the stappled manner of Clovio and his imitators.

LIST OF SICILIAN AND ITALIAN MSS XIII-XVI CENTURIES

Name	Location	Date	Remarks.
De Venationibus et de arte venandi cum avibus	Vat Libr Palat 1071	c 1300	Treatise by the Emperor Frederick II (1218-1250) containing paintings of birds and hunting scenes (see also <i>AGRICULTURE II story of Art</i> pl 73)
Ordo officiorum Senensis	Acad Libr Siena	—	Attributed to Odericus Agobrius.
Bible	Abbey of La Cava near Salerno	1316-1331	Written for Abbot Philip de Hays
Speculum historiale	—	—	For the same patron
Legenda Sancti George	Archives of the Canon of St Peter's Rome	c 1370-81	Illuminated by Giotto beautiful stored initials

Name	Location	Date	Remarks
Speculum Salvationis	Arsenal Libr., Paris	—	School of G of c
Virgil.	Ambros. Libr. Milan	c 1310.	Painted by S mone Martini. (See HC 472.2. <i>Gu rre archéologique</i> XII 20 1 head-ener Paris 188 and for doubts of authentic city of S mone's signature WOLTMAN and WOEZ MANN <i>History of Art at pp 1 485.</i>)
Enl omale of Durandus	" " Add 31 632.	c 1330.	Very fine illuminations.
Aristoteles Opera.	" " Harl 6,331	c. 1333.	Long straight rods, profile foliage and reversed curves. Compare this with Lacn M. 428, described as <i>PIETRY Les Murs servis de Lacn 11 4" Lithoc</i>
Mural of Cardinal Stefaneschi.	Arch ves of the Canons of St Peter's, Rome	c 1337-43.	In the same vol. with the Legends of S George and said to be like them, illuminated by (110
Portraits of Popes.	Brit. Mus., Harl., 1,340	—	Fine foliages all-worried figures
Officium Mariae Virginis et Bartholomaeus de Bourholis de Bononia.	Abbey of Kremsmünster	1340	Beautiful miniatures by Nicolaus de Bononia.
Forma et Convenerole da Prato.	Brit. Mus., Roy 6 E. 15	1300-42.	Fine text and initials, and bold <i>gouache</i> paint on Allegorical figures. Executed for King Robert of Naples
Gratian's Decretales	" " Add. 15, 74.	c 1350	Exquisitely fine initials and text
Dante Divina Commedia.	" " Egypt 943.	c. 1350.	Rough and hulk painting
Boethius on Arithmetic and Music.	Vat. Mus. Naples.	c. 1350	Allegorical figures.
Concordantiae Canonum.	" " "	c 1350	Probably Bologna
Statuts de l'Ordre du St. Esprit	Vat. Libr., Paris, Fr., 4274	c 1354.	Napoleonic, executed for Louis I of Anjou King of Sicily and Jerusalem
Roman du Roi Meliadus.	Brit. Mus., Add 12, 229.	c 1353.	Executed for Louis II of Naples, probably at Avignon.
New Testament.	Vat. Libr., no. 2,639	1353.	By Nicolaus de Bononia.
Musculi Romanorum.	Brit. Mus., Add 14, 562.	c 1370	Fine illumination
Petrarch Trionfi etc	" " Harl. 3,109	c. 1370.	Miniatures and initials.
Antiphonarium Voceturum.	Laurent. Lib., Florence	c 1370	Echoes of style of Giotto.

Name	Location	Date	Remarks
Petrarch, Trionfi etc	Nat Libr Paris	—	Miniatures of Triumphs
Joannes Andrea, Libri VI Decretalium.	Abbey of St Florian.	c 1370	Fine Bolognese miniatures.
Missale Romanum.	Roy Libr Munich Lat 10672	c 1374	(See KOBELL, <i>Kunstvolle Miniaturen</i> p 48 Photo lithogr) By Nicolaus de Bononia
Missale Romanum Dominicanum.	St Mark a Libr Venice Cl III 2071	c 1370	Fine figure painting of School of Giotto By Nicolaus de Bononia.
Missale Romanum Pontificum	Brit Mus Add 21773	c. 1380-1400	Fine pen work diapers and initials
Latin Bible.	" Add. 19720	c 1375-1380	Cassinese or Bolognese fine foliages and awfully coloured initials.
Latin Hymnarium Hieronymianum	" Add 30014	c 1400	Beautiful pen work and flowers, miniatures and initials Bolognese
Ordo Breviaris Romano Curie	" " Harl 2,003.	c 1400	Siennese or Florentine with fine initials
Pomponius Mela.	" " Add. 17400	c 1410.	
Breviary	" " Add. 17400	c 1412.	Coarse and gaudy
Plato in Latin	" " Harl 3451.	c 1370.	Executed for Ferdinand I of Naples (1458-64)
Missale Romanum	" " Add 17,294.	c. 1450.	Veronese or Venetian.
Catulli Veronensis poemata.	" " Add 11,013.	1400	Neat handwriting Treviso.
Cæsar	" " Harl 2733.	c. 1400	Executed for Pius II (1458-1464)
Cæsar.	" " Add. 10,962.	1402.	White vine stems
Cæsar	" " Add. 11,009	1360	Fine handwork
Venetian Diploma	" " Add 15,810.	c 1402	Style of Liberale of Verona.
Petrarch Sonnets, etc	" " Harl. 3411	c 1400.	White vine stem, etc.
Cicero	" " Harl 2692	c. 1470.	Roman Renaissance
Missale Romanum	" " Add 15,260	c 1673	Bolognese School
Officia.	" " Add. 19417	c. 1373	Milanese School
Boethius de consolatione	" " Harl 4233.	c. 1175.	
Missale Romanum	" " Harl. 2773	c. 1480.	Florentine School
Frontinus, History	" " Harl 4205	c. 1482.	Napopolitan or Roman.
Josephus, History	" " Harl 3679	c 1480	Roman.
Herodian	" " Add 22,773	1498	Florentine Renaissance
Scrap-book of cuttings.	" " Add. 21412	1480-1500	Florentine and Roman Renaissance
Grant of Ludovico Sforza	" " Add. 21412	1494.	Milanese School, painted by Antonio da Monza.
Offices of Frederick of Aragon.	" " Add 21,520.	1500.	Napolitan Renaissance.

Name	Location	Date	Remarks.
Life of Manet	Brit Mus., Add 9770.	1506	Florentine Renaissance
Promission of Antonio Grimani	" Add L. 19 000	c. 1521	Executed for the Doge Antonio Grimani (1521-23) Venetian Renaissance
Poem to Henry VIII	" Add 33 067	c. 1525	Venetian Renaissance.
Eusebius	" Harl 3308	c. 1515.	Florentine Renaissance
Eusebius.	" " Roy	c. 1525.	Milanese Renaissance.
Life of Mar-ott	" Lansl 512	c. 1525	Florentine Renaissance.
Missale Casanense	" Add L. 15 913.	c. 1530	Venetian Renaissance executed probably by Bened. Lortone
Life of St Francis.	" Harl 3221	c. 1504	Florentine Renaissance
Prayer Book of Margaret of Austria, wife of Philip II of Spain	Imp Libr Vienna, no. 1819	1500-1573.	Large Bro Executed in Florence probably for a Spanish nobleman very beautiful foliage borders and miniatures
Aristotle Ethics	Imp Libr Vienna	c. 1490-1510	Fine Renaissance work probably executed at Naples. Miniatures very elaborate in design and painted in strong <i>penache</i> by Rinaldo Piramo for Andrea Matteo Aquaviva, Duke of Atri.
" Jerome, Commentaries on Lancel	" " no. 634	c. 1490-1510	Executed by Attavante for King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary
Philosophy in Latin	" " no. 95	"	Translated by Ant Bonifacio Illuminated by a Florentine miniaturist of the highest rank possibly Attavante for Corvinus
Orations of Cicero	Imp Libr Vienna.	c. 1490	Executed, probably at Naples for Ferdinand I (1458-1494) Very fine Renaissance ornament
Poems of Enriaco d'Isola	"	c. 1430	Miniatures by Giulio Clovio (1428-1578)
Book of Offices (Stuart de Roth essay)	Brit Mus. Add 9097	c. 1465.	Miniatures and fine Renaissance borders and initials by Clovio.
Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans	Soane Mus. London.	c. 1535.	Large miniature and borders by Clovio Executed for Cardinal Orsini
Prayer Book of Alfonso I King of Naples	Brit Mus. Add. 9 002.	c. 1450.	Finest Neapolitan work contains 39 miniatures Portraits of King Alfonso (1416-1458)
Psalter of Paul III.	Nat Libr., Paris, Lat 702.	1540	French influence in borders. Probably by Clovio

Name	Location	Date	Remarks.
Storziada	Nat Libr Paris, Ital 3	1490	Milanese School
Alexander de Alex.	Vat. Libr. fds Urbino 144.	c 1490	Transition from Medici School to Duke of Urbino.
Orations of Cicero	Laurenz. Libr. Florence pl XLVIII 8	c 1490	Transition from white stem to Florentine Ren- aissance
Roman Missal of Charles V	Roy Libr Brussels	c 1498	Florentine Renaissance Painted by Attavante
Martian's Capella.	St Mark's Libr Venice	c 1490	Florentine Renaissance Painted for Lorenzini by Attavante
Papal Lectionary the Towneley (1490)	Lenox Libr New York	c 1496	Roman by Clovio and his assistants
Letters of St Jerome	Roy Libr Berlin	c 1490-50	Veronese Renaissance.
De Sanguine Christi	Vat Libr. Rome cod Urb. n. 251	c 1490	Combination of Milanese and white stem style with enamel, etc
Anthologia Proverborum et Grammaticum.	Nat Libr Florence	c 1490	Florentine Renaissance
Dante	Vat Libr., no. 363.	c 1555	Fine Roman Renaissance
Defensio Platonis.	Nat Libr Paris Lat 12,947	c 1490	Naples School Coloured hands and white stems, with children, camels etc
Investiture from Cu- laido II., Duke of Urbino	Brit. Mus., Add 2,660	c 1500	Late Roman Renaissance
Trionfi di Petrarca.	Nat Libr Paris, Ital. 22,541	c 1493-15.	6 x full page miniatures not perfect but very fine
Poems on Julius II	Vat Libr., no. 1687	c 1493-15	By same artist as the preceding MS (see BRITISH MUSEUM History of Art pl 82.)
Latin Bible of the Duke of Urbino.	" " cod. Urb.	1496.	Fine Florentine early Renaissance.
Trionfi di Petrarca.	Mr. H. Morda Libr London.	—	—
Missal of Cardinal Colonna.	Sclavina Palace Rome no. 2	c. 1500.	Miniature of scene to be attributed to La- faella Nani
Barberini Prayer Book	Barberini Libr., Rome no. 2.1	c 1500	Many miniatures. Flo- rentine school.
Missal of Pius II	Christ Libr Rome	c 1490	Executed for Pope Pius II
Parchment	Corsini Libr Rome no. 1,061	c 1500	—
Missal of Cardinal Corsi	Corsini Libr Rome no. 1,013.	c 1500	Many fine miniatures.
Missal of Cardinal Corsi.	Afineris Libr Rome	c 1500	Attributable to Roman Renaissance miniature
Roman Missal.	Brera Libr., Milan	c 1490.	Attributed to a Venetian artist

Name	Location	Date	Remarks
Graduals of Pavia.	Brera Libr., Milan	c. 1530-40.	Milanese Renaissance. By Barozzi and others.
Platarchi Vita in Latin	Brit. Mus., Add. 3421.	1470.	Executed for Ferdinand I., king of Naples. Transition, and mixed Florentine influence.
Prayer Book of Bianca Maria of Milan.	Roy. Libr., Munich, no. 99A.	c. 1450.	Illuminated for Bianca Maria, duchess of Milan, by Giovanni da Como; contains the arms of the Visconti and Sforza families, and very interesting miniatures. (See HOPKINSON, <i>Manuscript Miniatures</i> pp. 40, 87.)
Hours of Dons of Savoy	Brit. Mus. Add. 34298	—	Fine Milanese Renaissance, with much Flemish work (See reproductions, with text by G. F. Warner published by the Brit. Mus. in 1904.)
Prayer Book of Albert IV., duke of Bavaria.	Roy. Libr., Munich, Cuvillien-Saal, no. 42.	1571.	Finest Roman Renaissance, with very tenderly painted miniatures and rich binding. Written, etc. by Hans Lantier goldsmith of Munich. Irregularly attributed to Châtel. (See HOPKINSON, <i>Manuscript Miniatures</i> , p. 68. 1 photo lithogr.)
Amor, a poem by Cam. Fabretti of Bologna.	Brit. Mus., Add. 30007	c. 1515.	Dedicated to Henry VIII.
Apologia di Pandolfo Colonna.	Brit. Mus., Roy. 12 C viii	c. 1510.	Complied for Henry VIII.

VI

ENGLISH ILLUMINATION

Our course of study brings us at length to that branch of French illumination which after being practised for some time as Norman or Anglo French became naturalized in our own country. Once more taking up and assimilating the native elements then existing this foreign practice by the time of Edward I had ripened into a perfectly representative national style. After the death of Henry I the unhappy social and political condition of the country was unfavourable to the cultivation of art. But the marriage of Henry II brought in an access of French taste which made the practice of illumination once more called for and popular. Towards the end of the twelfth century and during the whole of the reign of Henry III, French was the prevailing fashion and illumination as pure decoration was ascending to its zenith. The art of this period as we have seen in our notice of the lifetime of St Louis was of the Gothic or naturalistic type as compared with the preceding Romanesque and Byzantine, but it was not yet emancipated from the influence or rather the control of the sister arts of enamelling and glass painting. This control while it kept the decoration of the book uniform with that of the reliquary and the window, retarded its progress towards pictorial effect. It has been the custom of writers on illumination to praise this defect as a virtue but on grounds which will not bear rigid examination. There is no reason except that of consistent imitation or simple preference why the page of a book should be made to look like a beautiful Gothic window or why the figures should be coloured in flat tints and surrounded by strong black outlines. In a stained glass window there were excellent reasons for these methods of treatment. So in enamelling there were substantial reasons for the employment of diapered or chequered back grounds. The materials at the disposal of the artist limited his operations. But in the case of the painter on vellum it was from no such necessity that his work resembled the other. It was because he could do no better otherwise his skill and knowledge as a painter would have taught him that a method excellent because necessary for glass work was inapplicable to the materials on which he himself

worked and that far freer and richer handling was available with his softer and more tractable materials. By and by this skill and this knowledge were obtained and illumination was advanced accordingly. We can see absolutely no reason why a picture in a book should not be as perfectly pictorial as a picture on a wall. In fact the engraved works of the later class of book illustrators practically endorse the opinion that the finest work is that which is most perfect in pictorial effect in those qualities which a picture should possess wherever it may be found. We may admire the illumination of a Gothic missal for qualities which it actually possesses without asserting that it could not be better as a picture. Those who love a Gothic glass painting will admire a Gothic illumination and may think it perfect. But its perfection is of a limited type and cannot be accepted as the type of the supreme reach of the illuminator's art.

A good example of the condition of English work at the time here spoken of may be seen in the British Museum (Royal 2 A. xii) and appears to have been produced in the scriptorium of Westminster Abbey. The drawing is in thick firm black outline as if to represent the leadwork of a window, the colouring thin and slight. In Burney 3 we have a Bible dated 1245 which once belonged to St. Augustine's Canterbury. Royal 1 B. vii is another Bible written for Salisbury use and dated 1254. This may be compared with the French Missal (Add 26 635) dated 1250 and the differences noted. No doubt much of the work executed in England during this time and for a century afterwards was in fact done by Frenchmen and such as was actually the production of English hands differed but slightly from this. Certainly the difference was not one of style.

One of the first examples of a thirteenth century MS executed in England is that known as the Temison Psalter (Add. 24 686) which appears to have been at least begun by an artist working in the monastery of the Blackfriars London about 1294 as a royal gift on the intended marriage of Prince Alphonso second son of Edward I. to the daughter of the Count of Holland but left unfinished for a time in consequence of the prince's death. The figure drawing is free and the faces delicately drawn with the pen, the colouring which marks the chief difference from pure French miniature is not pale but bright and lively. Compare with this another Psalter (Arundel 83) illuminated about 1310 by an English artist. Here the

increase of the humorous or ludicrous element is very marked. The drolleries indeed or more truly their grotesqueness may be taken as the most striking characteristic of native work. It is perhaps most observable when the execution is below the average but is a no less prominent feature in the work of the ablest draughtsmen. A favourite element of decoration in these late thirteenth and many fourteenth century MSS is a puncturing or pouncing of the burnished gold sometimes in lines stars or circlets sometimes in elaborate patterns of diaper such as we see in the grounds of coloured glass and in German heraldic painting. The Armdel Psalter just mentioned is a fine example of this practice and a Psalter (7 F 1) in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge, of a somewhat earlier date is another. It is by no means confined to English work but these English examples afford many good instances of it. The raising and pouncing of gold backgrounds is a common process with the Italian painters of the same period as may be seen in the Early Italian Room at the National Gallery. The practice was followed also in the decoration of St Stephens Chapel Westminster executed for Edward III. Indeed in the Westminster Records under the date 1303 we meet with the mention of stamps for marking the pictures with impression of this very kind. The effect especially in the MSS is very brilliant. In MSS executed before 1380 the influence as has been frequently pointed out is manifestly and strongly French. Every example hitherto cited is a proof of this. But before the end of the next decade a sudden and almost violent change took place and the French style of border with its thorny Gothic sprays was replaced by a fuller softer roundly coiling and more fully coloured foliage. The design of the borders also bearing some reminiscences of the Othonian period became more richly coloured and adopted more broadly drawn surface foliated panels. The leaflets no longer spare and thorny, or mere trefoils or cinque foils of ivy but profuse and brilliantly coloured showed unquestionably a fresh influence. I have already assigned this influence to the select band of French and Italian artists employed at Prague by the Emperor Charles IV artists who produced the Vienna Golden Bull and commenced the Bible since known as the Wenzel Bible. It is a curious fact that all the daughters of this accomplished prince married Sovereigns noted for their protection of the arts and we cannot doubt that the Queen of Richard II. Anne of Bohemia (or Luxemburg)

was the moving spirit of this change in England, a change which her immediate popularity soon rendered universal in every native scriptorium. A careful examination of the ornamentation of the Wenzel Bible, reveals numerous instances of almost complete identity of treatment with the new English style. The only difference is, that here in England the leafage is adapted to the form of frame work hitherto in vogue. At the same time the frames are now fully enriched with foliage instead of being merely diapered or golden panels, and the colouring is of the bright and somewhat gaudy character observable in the Wenzel Bible and the Wilhelm von Oranien of the Bohemian school. A MS in the British Museum (Add 15,690) is distinctly Bohemian, though roughly executed by a very inferior hand. It is dated 1380 and signed by Jodocus von Weronar at Nuremberg. The name is foreign to that city, and the style differs from the ordinary Nuremberg work, which inclines rather to the school of Cologne. A daughter of Charles IV, we may be reminded, married the Burggrave of Nuremberg and this Jodocus may possibly have been among her retinue.

The style claimed by some art writers as an almost isolated example of a national art in Bohemia was, until the advent of the House of Luxemburg, distinctly German and descended from the Saxon of Bamberg. With Charles of Luxemburg came French illuminators and an equally distinct French style. To this, by his invitation of artists from Italy, Charles added a third stream and thus was formed a style differing both from the French of Paris and the German of Cologne but possessing as it were echoes of both.

As regards English illuminators, every student must have remarked the abrupt change of style from such MSS as Royal 20 B vii, or Harl 1,319 to Royal 1 E ix, the Benefaction Book of St Alban's, or the MSS relating to the Duchy of Lancaster in the Record Office. It has usually, and without close examination, been assumed to be a national and regular evolution from the ordinary English work of the preceding century. But a strict comparison of MSS does not bear out this conclusion.

The young Luxemburg princess who came to England in 1382 and who is known in history as Good Queen Anne of Bohemia, inherited the luxurious and cultured tastes of her father. Fond of all the decorative arts, and especially of heraldry, she was the patroness to whom Johannes de Bado Auco dedicated his *Tractatus de Armis*.

the first work on that subject (though composed in Latin) by any English author. Whether such illuminators as Shinclo von Frottna and Petrus Brzuchaty whose names do not occur in Dlabacz ever existed may be questionable. But work assigned to them is still preserved and the Missal of Johann Ocko von Wlasun Archbishop of Prague (1364-80) attributed to the second of them is one of the treasures of that city. It stands says Woltmann¹ in the highest rank of the art of the fourteenth century. The English art of the early fourteenth century is of French origin so is Bohemian. But the fresh influence traceable in the English of the early fifteenth is Bohemian and in the Bohemian itself is Italian. The Viaticus and Mariale at Prague are clearly French and the connexion between Prague and Paris in the generation preceding Anne of Bohemia was as close as that between Prague and London in 1382. The great Jean de Berry whose world famous Hours are considered the finest MSS of the finest school—that of the Netherlands employed in Paris—was the son of King John of France and his Queen Bonne of Luxemburg Anne of Bohemia's aunt. Both Courts then being in the active exercise of artistic influence on England we can easily account for a revival of the arts in our own country, which revival owing to the direct patronage of the young Queen was in the line of Bohemia rather than of France.

In this new departure the application of body colour is no longer flat and pale or thin but full rich and bright. It is without the pen line face drawing. The features are painted not pen drawn. These are Italian not French characteristics. The nearest representatives of these observable changes in English work are the MSS already mentioned and now at Vienna viz the Golden Bull the Wenzel Bible and the Wilhelm von Oranse. For the English examples we may take Royal 1 E. ix Lansdowne 451 and Harl 7026. Allowing for the changes due to the transfer of the new influence to English hands and English scriptoria with their own traditions we have a style of work which the contemporary thorny French Gothic does not explain. The artists who executed the Germanized frame-borders backgrounds and costumes of MSS like the splendid Wilhelm von Oranse are much more answerable for those of Royal 1 E. ix, and 2 A. xviii than are the illuminators of the Hours of the Duke of Berry or of the

¹ Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft II Stuttgart 1892

Arundel and Temison Psalters. Now instead of the long pale faces of the French MSS, we have a round and ruddy type and a distinct endeavour to get at individual expression while the frequently mentioned frame borders have an entirely different character. To the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the influences we have endeavoured to enumerate we owe the distinct English style which during the fifteenth century became practically universal. It was led especially by the schools of Westminster, St. Albans and Norwich and might from its period be called Lancastrian. Edward IV from his intimacy with the Court of Burgundy and the nobility of Flanders brought in a taste for the growing style everywhere recognised as Flemish and henceforth most of the Chronicles and other works executed for the House of York and the first Tudor are of this kind. Henry VIII seems to have shared the French taste for the Italian Renaissance but Elizabeth and the Stuarts reverted once more to the Netherlands and more especially to Antwerp. Under Elizabeth portrait miniature now the only representative of the mediæval art became popular and from the time of Nicholas Hilliard we may consider historic or subject miniature as practically extinct in England.

Sir E. Maunde Thompson has written a short illustrated history of English illumination during the mediæval period.¹

CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH ILLUMINATION XIV-XV CENTURIES

FIGURE—From the time of Edward I to that of Richard II the character of English figure drawing is fashioned on that of the school of Paris. After 1382 a new manner is observable the characteristics being more like those of the school of Prague. This becoming naturalised forms the style which is prevalent in England during the reigns of Henry IV, V and VI, and may be called Lancastrian. In the reign of Edward IV Netherlandish art is introduced which lasts until the earlier years of the sixteenth century. Afterwards we have an eclectic school partaking of the features of the Italian Renaissance as modified by the special locality from which it derived it. In the reign of Elizabeth subject-miniature gives way to portraiture and is eventually abandoned in favour of printing and engraving.

¹ In "Bibliographica." London 1895.

LANDSCAPE—The backgrounds partake of the characteristics of the various influences referred to above but English illuminators to the very last retain a preference for diapers and other ornamental grounds.

ORNAMENT—The panel frames of the early fifteenth century are remarkable for a freedom in their foliage designs and a tendency to brilliant colouring like those in the works of the German and Bohemian schools. The single initials are often adorned with elegant brackets of sweeping branches clustered with coils of firmly drawn leafage and enriched with patines often finely fringed of burnished gold or supported as in the earlier Gothic with bars and cusps of gold. Surface foliage in bright colours is often used to enrich the larger initials. The use of a pale soft rosy orange, in place of pure rose or paled lake gives to the colouring a refinement which is often wanting in the German work of which it is an offshoot.

TECHNIC—With a basis of *gouache* there is a tendency to the thinner working of the English mode of *aquarelle*. Sometimes it is very tender and transparent but it never attempts the stippled or dotted manner of the later Italian schools. Wherever stipple appears it is an introduction from Italy or Spain the latter country having adopted its methods with its artists from either Italy or the Netherlands. Gilding is employed in the same way as in the continental schools, the earlier work (French and Lancastrian) making use of pouncing or puncturing to give brilliancy, and to work thin patterns of lines or diapers on the bright gold. The later gold work is applied like the colouring solely with the brush and with little or no burnishing. The colours of initials and borders are gradated and paled and then finished with fine embroideries of pure white.

LIST OF ENGLISH MSS, XIV—XV CENTURIES

(For Anglo French see list at end of Chapter VIII)

Name	Location	Date	Remarks.
Queen Mary's Psalter	Brit Mus. Roy. 2 B v	14th cent (early)	(See WESTIAKE and PURDUE <i>The Illustrations of Old Testament History in Queen Mary's Psalter</i> 119 lithogr. London, 1865 and S. E. MARSDEN THOMPSON in <i>Bibl. iconographica</i> part 2, pl. 6, 7.)

Name.	Location.	Date	Remarks
Psalter	Brit Mus Arund 83	14th cent (1st half)	Strikingly grotesque drolleries (See Sir E. MAUDE THOMPSON, in <i>Bibliographica</i> part 5 pl 2.)
Apocalypse (French version)	" Roy 19 B xv	c 1330	(See Sir F. MAUDE THOMPSON, in <i>Bibliographica</i> part 5 pl 1)
Psalter of Princess Joan	" Roy 2 B viii	c 1330	Good bracket initials. An example of the transition to the Lancastrian style
Pontifical	" Lansd 451	c 1400	Also transitional. Fine bracket initials
Latin Bible	" Roy 1 L ix	c 1400	Enormous folio. Strong influence of French. (See Sir E. MAUDE THOMPSON in <i>Bibliographica</i> part 5, pl 3 & 4.)
Lovell Dictionary	" Harl 7,000	c 1400	Illuminated by John Strewe, in the new English manner for John Lord Lovell of Tichmarsh (d. 1404) (See HUMPHREYS <i>The Illustrated Books of the Middle Ages</i> pl 16)
Roman Breviary	" Harl 2 975	c 1400	Large initials and drolleries
Offices	" Add 16,998	c 1400	Small quarto. Small miniatures, borders, and initials
Offices Suffrages, etc.	" Add 16,998	c 1400	Miniatures, etc. Many vermicels.
Liber All us, bk iv	Guildhall Records London	c 1410	Initials and border decorations.
Chaucer. Canterbury Tales.	Brit Mus Harl 7,339	c 1410	Good illumination. Fairly regular text.
Offices.	" " Roy 2 B 1	c 1410	In new English manner.
Grindison Offices (Hours of the Virgin and Psalter in Latin)	" " Roy 2 A xviii	c 1410	Large bracket initials (See Sir E. MAUDE THOMPSON in <i>Bibliographica</i> part 5, pl 5)
Oecleve, De regimine Principum	" " Arund 28	c 1415	An example of the transition from the French manner. Translated into English as in Paris 1149 (See <i>French Book III</i>).
Ormonde Offices	" " Lat 2 B xv	c 1420	Large initials, etc. in new English manner. (See Sir E. MAUDE THOMPSON in <i>Bibliographica</i> part 5, pl 5)

Name	Location	Date	Remarks
Missal	Brit Mus. Arund 101	c 1475	Executed before 1446 Presented by William Melreth, alderman of London, to the church of St. Lawrence in the Old Jewry (See Sir L. MacNis, <i>Notes on the British Museum</i> part 5 pl. 6) Old border designs.
Golden Legend	Harl 1475	1475	
Office Prayers etc	Harl 1451	1450	Apparently executed for John Duke of Bedford
Lyfate & Y in wood	Harl 1426	c 1425	1313 binding foliages
Lyfate in wood	Harl 2278	c 1425	Superior to the preceding but much faded through exposure (See HUMPHREYS <i>The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages</i> p. 117)
Lyfate Story of Thebes	" Ald 1942	c 1440	
Psalter	" " Roy 2 B 1	c 1441	Borders of twin acanthus
Oratio De regum Principum	" Clonmel 115	c 1440	Dedicated to Henry VI
Isallier	Fitzwilliam Mus. Cambridge 7 F 7	c 1440	Rather pretty borders (For the Fitzwilliam Mus. MS in this list see W. G. SEARLE <i>The Illuminated Manuscripts of the Fitzwilliam Museum</i> Cambridge 1896)
Collection of Statutes	Fitzwilliam Mus. Cambridge 7 P 5	c 1450	Perhaps somewhat earlier
Sacramental	Brit Mus. Harl 2785	c 1450	Perhaps somewhat earlier
Crucifix of John of Welfland	" " Nero C 6	c 1455	Pure Flemish of St. Albans
Fitzwilliam Missal	Fitzwilliam Mus. Cambridge 7 F 6	c 1460-1470	Rather poor work Contains an important calendar
Pedigree Roll	Brit Mus. Harl 7, 303	c 1461	Illuminations
Office etc	" " Harl 1, 711	c 1460	Large initials Good text
Calendar of Benedictine factors	" " Nero D 7	c 1460	Portraits etc by Alin Strayler illuminator of St. Albans
North Office	" " Harl 300	c 1475	Good border frames
Letouny	" Roy 2 B 1, xii	c 1480	Profusely illuminated
Vegetables on Knight's hood	" " Roy 15 A 10	c 1480	
Various historical treatises	" " Claud E 8	c 1480	
Hora	Fitzwilliam Mus. Cambridge, 7 F 10	c 1490	In line to Dutch in style
Letters etc	Brit. Mus., Add 15216	c 1490	Curious miniatures by various hands

XII

NETHERLANDISH ILLUMINATION.

In the history of illumination of the earlier periods it is scarcely possible to separate the art of the Low Countries from that of France on the one hand, and of Germany on the other. It is not indeed altogether an easy matter to fix exact limits to the territory lying between these two countries, and loosely termed the Netherlands or Low Countries. The productions of its artists are generally but incorrectly spoken of as Flemish. This, of course, strictly speaking, would exclude the works of those of the Low German, Walloon, and French portions, whilst the term Netherlandish includes them all. The modern division into Dutch and Belgian is less useful than it appears, as the work of the illuminators was done before such a division was known. On the whole it will be clearer to speak of the work by its precise locality, such as Maastricht, Liège, Stavelot, Utrecht, Antwerp, Louvain, Brussels, Ghent, Bruges, Tournay, Valenciennes, and so forth, or at least by the name of the principalities, etc., Liège, Holland, Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, and the rest, as they existed before 1550.

In speaking of Upper and Lower Rhenish, we are obliged somewhat to extend the exact political boundaries, as fixed by the old Germanic Circles. The former will include the whole Rhine valley from Mainz to Basel, while it takes its character from its most northern limit. The Lower Rhenish takes its character from Cologne; but includes much that in modern phrase would be called Dutch. By Dutch or Hollandish, however, is more properly meant such work as was produced in other towns or monasteries, as, for example Zwolle and Deventer, mostly lying away from the Rhine, and northward of Cologne. For works produced eastward of this city and of the Rhine above Worms or Speyer, including Augsburg ones, the name is more properly Suabian. So, by various gradations, the Rhenish features modulate into those of the neighbouring districts. When the illumination and miniature work of the Northern Rhineland begins to grow distinctly Netherlandish, and to show the influence of certain guilds, there is already developed a direct and resolute imitation of external nature, and an earnest endeavour on the part of the artist to represent the landscape

familiar to him in his daily walks. A similar desire to reproduce the natural landscape rather than to imitate mosaic or enamelling in their backgrounds seized upon the Italians of the same period. By landscape I mean sky and distance with mountains, rivers or sea-coast, not merely a group of persons with a conventional tree or two behind or a carpet-like pattern of grass and flowers symmetrically disposed to make up a foreground. It is in this change to true landscape that the real transformation from medieval illumination to modern easel painting consists and in this change France was no longer to the front. By and bye she joined the new ranks but at the end of the fourteenth century she was still wedded to her diaper work while the Italians and the Netherlands were bringing in the faithful representation of the air and fields. It may be a question whether Flanders or Italy made the first move in this direction but the probability lies with the former. After 1250 Dr. Kugler thinks every new departure in painting due to the Netherlands and even when the work was done in Paris or Venice it is known that Netherlandish artists were the persons actually employed to do it. Nevertheless it was not until the arrival of Anne of Bohemia in England that landscape scenery forming the whole background of a miniature began to make its way into the popular taste. The Low Country miniaturists may be distinguished from the French by their preference of plain burnished gold to diapering. When this was discontinued the deep blue sky paling towards the horizon was the first step. An example of this transition may be seen in Harl. 2897 which dates between 1389 and 1400. This MS is known as the Prayer Book of Margaret of Bavaria, wife of John the Fearless Duke of Burgundy, and it was executed by Flemish artists. Dr. Waagen has pointed out another Flemish MS in the British Museum (Add. 16997) also a Book of Prayers the date of which falls within the first two decades of the fifteenth century and which shows a still further advance in landscape art. Still another MS in the same library (Harl. 4431), belonging to the third decade of the fifteenth century, contains some of the earliest known attempts at complete and partly natural landscape. The clouds it is true are still somewhat heraldic (*nebuly*) but it is clear that in most things the artist has gone direct to nature. From this time landscape rapidly approaches excellence if not perfection.

The British Museum affords multitudes of examples. Take for instance the Book of Hours, Add. 24098, the

calendar scenes of which present us with really exquisite pictures'. After the commencement of the fifteenth century, both Italy and France adopt the landscape background on the Flemish model producing most beautiful scenes. Even the fine aerial perspective and tender beauty of sky and cloud are rendered with the utmost delicacy and truth. In a Northern French MS in the British Museum the 'Trésor des Histoires' (Aug V) there is on folio 38 an attempt at complete pictorial effect in the sky, and in the lighting up of the rocks with the rays of the setting sun. In this the artist proves at least his habit of observation of the beauties of Nature. On fol 151 we have a fine distance with views and hills, on fol 222, varieties of green in the trees and a bridge scene of great beauty, and on fol 345v a garden and château, clear sparkling water, and a charming distance. The student could scarcely find a book worthy of more careful study even among the masterpieces of the famous painters of the Grimaldi Breviary.

The earlier efforts of the Netherlandish miniaturists, whilst always worthy of notice for conscientious and patient finish and labour, are sometimes impaired by defective drawing or a misdirected sense of the beautiful in face and limb, and a tendency to exaggeration in expression and attitude. Nevertheless, there is always a certain charm arising out of the sweetness of colouring and the careful rendering of minute details of costume and accessories. In the Imperial Library at Vienna is a fragment of the *Chronicles of Jerusalem* manifestly executed by a practised and skilful illuminator, the miniatures of which are precisely of this kind. Woltmann and Woermann give a cut of one containing the portrait of Baldwin I in complete armour, with lance and shield, standing before a beautiful Gothic canopy. Everything is most perfectly finished, down to the statuettes which adorn the architecture, and the patterns in damask and mosaic of the walls and pavements. The story of the development of Netherlandish miniature art is of the greatest interest from the very high position held by Netherlanders in this department. Towards this pre-eminence the rapid progress made by the Van Eycks, Hugo van der Goes, Roger van der Weyden, Dirk Bouts, and Hans Memling naturally gave a corresponding impetus to the professional illuminators who, together with the

¹ The scenes may be compared with similar subjects at the end of Ald 1835.

painters contributed to render the court of Philip the Good and his son Charles the Bold the most brilliant of the many literary and artistic centres of the fifteenth century. All the masters I have named worked more or less in the manner of the miniaturists and indeed more than one has been upon insufficient evidence claimed as belonging by practice to the illuminators even if not a member of their guild. Our great master painter at least did really belong to the miniature guild of his adopted city but he belongs to the end of the century. This was Gerard David of Oudewater in Holland. In 1484 he appears in the painters guild of Bruges and his work has been identified by Mr Weale in various MSS still preserved. We really know of no miniatures from the hands of the Van Eycks, notwithstanding Dr Waagen's supposed identifications in the Bedford Service Books nor from those of Roger van der Weyden or Hans Memling. The supposed works of the last named artist in the Grimani Breviary and elsewhere are quite wrongly attributed to him they really belong to Gerard David. Gerard Horenbout or other miniaturists. Among the masterpieces of Netherlandish miniature of the fifteenth century we might point to quite a crowd of examples far too numerous to specify, since almost every great library in Europe has something to show which is considered to belong to the highest class. At Brussels there are the

Chroniques de Hainaut (N° 9242) the framed Hours the Music Books of Philip the Good and many others. At Vienna is the famous *Histoire de Gérard de Roussillon* in French (Imp Lib N° 2519) at Paris the *Champion des Dames* (Nat Libr N° 12476). In the British Museum there are many examples foremost among them being the *Isabella Breviary* (Add 18851) the *Trésor des Histoires* already mentioned (Cott Aug V) and the *Roman de la Rose* (Harl 4425). At Munich may be seen "*La Mutacion de Fortune*" (or at least the last volume of it the other being at Paris) and a Prayer Book of Philip the Good. The miniatures in the latter which is only a small volume are wondrously fine and delicate.

In the Bavarian National Museum at Munich are two other Prayer-Books (Nos 861 862) with exquisite miniatures. One of the borders of N° 861 consists of the ends or eyes of peacock feathers marvellously wrought and is almost exactly similar to the border of N° 4461 in the library collection. The miniatures of the Grimani Breviary at Venice and of the Offices of the Elector Albert

of Brandenburg master pieces of Gerard David and his associates may be taken as typical examples of their period. Similar to these are the Munich Prayer Books and several leaves now mounted in a guard book in the British Museum (Add 24098). For other examples of Flemish work in our great national library the student should consult Birch and Jenner Early Drawings and Illuminations. With a dictionary of subjects in the British Museum London, 1879.

As to the names of celebrated illuminators none was more famous in his day than Simon Marmion of Valenciennes recorded in a contemporary poem as Prince of Illuminators. Among others named are Jean de Prestmien Jean Trachet Jean de Bruges, Paul Fruit Loyset Lyedit, and Guillaume Wyeland. Of the later men one of the most distinguished is Simon Benyng the painter of the Portuguese Genealogies now in the British Museum (Add 12031).

There is however one variety highly developed in Netherlandish art which is by no means confined to that style. That is what is called grisaille or as the Italians call it *chiaroscuro* in which the work is almost completed in tones of grey. The final touches are given with pure white and the grounds laid in rich blue sometimes the flesh tones are given in natural colour and the ornaments and draperies in gold. The idea seems to be a return to the imitation of enamels especially those of the later schools of Limoges. The Royal Library at Brussels possesses several very fine examples. In the British Museum there is a very exquisite series of grisailles in what is called the Mandeville MS (Add 24189). In the basis is a pale cool green the faces are touched with carnations, gold is used in the draperies, etc. and the grounds are diapered in fine blue. The school is that of the Van Eycks.

The common Italian fashion of wall decoration, both external and internal gives a good idea of the relief attempted in the miniatures. This went almost to the extent of giving them the look of sculptures. The final development of the style which began chiefly with Romances and *Chromiele* is in the printed Books of Hours in which grisaille painting is often very finely executed. But the subject of printed book decoration is ample enough for a separate chapter and with it we shall conclude this Introduction.

CHARACTERISTICS OF NETHERLANDISH ILLUMINATION

FIGURE—The defect of Netherlandish figure drawing is in the disproportion of the heads, which are almost always somewhat too large. The hands and feet also are often too large for the rest of the limbs and person. The faces are highly finished and possess great individuality of expression. The modelling is completed with the utmost delicacy; the flesh tones are carefully varied. The draperies are very sweetly coloured and the folds arranged with scrupulous care and knowledge.

LANDSCAPE ETC—The modern idea of landscape was probably the invention of the Netherlander. At any rate they brought it soonest to perfection. Every part is carefully generalised to suit its relative place; yet details are given with the utmost minuteness and elaboration. The best parts usually are the distances and the skies in which the effects of aerial perspective are made to complete the beauty of the very accurate linear perspective of the buildings. Every effect of light, natural and artificial is attempted with singular success.

ORNAMENT ETC—Frame borders chiefly in imitation of pure or Renaissance Gothic stone and wood carving with canopies, crockets, etc., laboriously finished, or else natural flowers grouped on a patterned over gold and dead coloured grounds. These borders sometimes branch out in well arranged designs of heavy acanthus and other foliages. In Bruges work the leafages are light and elegant, in Gantois, heavy, yet handsomely modelled and often most exquisite in their folds and curves. Sometimes they are executed in brown finished with gold in various tones of bronze, sometimes in grey, as though of ivory, sometimes in cool green or slate.

TECHNIC—The painting is in body colour with strong but not heavy impasto yet with the greatest delicacy of finish. The modelling is carried to the extreme of realism and the gamut of colour is bright, clear and sweet. The aerial tones are exceedingly delicate and masterly. Altogether the *maniera* of the Netherlandish miniaturists is the extreme limit of pictorial skill and though rivalled by that of Italy and the French Renaissance has never been surpassed.

Names	Locations.	Date	Remarks.
Le strat de Fortune et Vertu	Roy Libr Brus sels no. 9319	c. 1475	From library of Charles de Croy beautiful picture of wheel of fortune with Fortune as lady of fashion and Virtue as a nun
Vita Christ	Roy Libr Brus sels no. 9331.	c. 1475.	By Jacquemart de Polaine of Mons.
La Tolson d Or	Roy Libr Brus sels no. 967	1407	By William Bishop of Tournay for Charles the Bold Duke of Burgundy in two vols
La Fleur des Histo res	Roy Libr Brus sels no. 9331.	c. 1475	Large picture at beginning of Constantine receiving homage.
Livre de l'ame con templative	Roy Libr., Brus sels no. 930.		Translated from Gerson Allegorical pictures
La maniere de bien mourir	Roy Libr Brus sels no. 9305		Second miniature has picture of man whose breast Death holds an arrow
Isabella Breviary	Brit Mus., Add. 15851.	c. 1487	Presented by Frances de Rojas to Isabella of Castile.
Offices	Brit Mus. Add 1585	c. 1489	Contains portraits of Philip the Fair and Joanna his wife. Finest Flemish work
Grimani Breviary	Libr of St Mark's Venice.	c. 1490	Contains a most wonderful collection of miniature scenes portraits and borders. A master piece of Netherlandish art. (See note 1 on p. 173)
Roman de la Rose.	Brit Mus., Harl 442.	c. 1495-1500	Remarkable for costume and expression in the figures. Four large and 88 small miniatures finely executed
Portuguese logies	Brit Mus., Add. 15851	1500-51.	Painted by Simon of Bruges for the Infant Don Fernando. Consists of 11 leaves richly illuminated

XIII

MSS. ILLUMINATED SINCE THE INVENTION OF PRINTING AND
PRINTED BOOKS ENRICHED WITH ILLUMINATION.

To imagine that the discovery and practice of typography immediately or speedily put an end to the profession of the copyist and illuminator, would be a great misapprehension. So far from this being the case, the vast number of MSS. subsequent to 1450, the date of the Mainz Bible, proves most conclusively that except for the commoner sort of books, as school manuals and the like, printed books were still the exception among the many literary productions of the following decades, and many of the best printed volumes were kept in harmony with their equivalent class of MSS. by being similarly enriched with miniatures, initials, or illuminated borders. In some cases, where ornament was less desirable, the enrichment was confined to the now conspicuous title page.

These sumptuous volumes, frequently printed upon the finest vellum, are not only very numerous, but are actually among the most richly decorated volumes in existence. Their contemporary MSS., most expensively and magnificently illuminated, are preserved among the costliest treasures of miniature art.

A glance at the history of painting and decoration during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries will direct us to the great centres of production. These will be found to be chiefly in Italy. Bologna, Naples, Genoa, Venice, Milan, Florence, and Rome possessed busy schools of miniature artists, employed either by the wealthier master printers or by fastidious princes, who as yet were reluctant to condescend to the more popular or less costly form of books. Of these the most actively employed in both respects was Florence. Hither converged the patronage of the whole literary world, and hither, therefore, betook themselves the best workers from every other atelier in Italy. Nevertheless, other cities too had French or German incomers, who also carried on a flourishing business.

The great school of miniature painting founded by the encouragement of the Medici, the Kings of Naples and Hungary, and the Dukes of Milan and Urbino, seconded as it was, by the varied and masterly accomplishments of

the scholars of Domenico Ghirlandajo including the two brothers Gherardo and Monti de Giovanni Frate Eustachio the two Boccardini father and son Girolamo da Cremona and Attavante had given the new taste for classic ornament introduced by the study of the antique so powerful an impulse as almost to extinguish every other style and render obsolete the finest works of the preceding periods. When this band of artists commenced their labours the prevailing fashion in Italy was the semi Moorish or Arabesque vine stem ornament a survival of the Othoman and Suabian of the times of the Saxoo and Hohenstaufen Emperors combined with Sicilian and Moorish ideas, and still inclined to the influence of enamelling and diaper. These features are found in almost all MSS executed in the South and the fashion is so marked as to have obtained the designation of a style. Sometimes we find white or slightly tinted bands or stems on grounds picked out with full rich colours and gold sometimes coloured bands on grounds of gold or black or even of other colours or on the plain vellum. But they always have the same prevalent idea of twining stems with peculiarly curling flowerets and buds while the pictorial portions or miniatures are executed in a strong and heavy but exceedingly elaborate *gouache* or *tempera* a direct descendant from the methods of the Byzantine school.

It is true that there were isolated examples in Italy of splendidly heterodox illumination as in the works of the deservedly admired school of Bologna where the principles of the Renaissance early took root and in some Neapolitan ones of an apparently Milanese character. We have five examples of these in the masterly Ethics of Aristotle in the Imperial Library of Vienna executed by Rinaldo Fiumo for the Duke of Atri and in the fine Orations of Cicero in the same Library.

The influence of classic studies in the school of Squarcione of Padua on the one hand and in the Medici Gardens at Florence on the other had given birth to many new departures from the old vine stem patterns which still prevailed towards the middle of the fifteenth century. Mantegna at Mantua and Milan changed entirely the fashion of the illuminations executed for the Sforzas and Gonzagas in those cities and their vicinity while the influence of Verrochio and his successors in Florence with their strong Christian sympathies, helped to modulate the classic character of the prominent school of Gherardo and Attavante in the Tuscan capital. The passion for classical

antiquity led wealthy book collectors to look out for those artists who could adorn their MSS or incunabula with motives and ornaments borrowed from ancient sculpture. Thus Leonardo Aretino in a letter to his friend Niccolo Niccoli requests the latter to procure for him a copy of the Orations of Cicero not gilded and painted in purple and gold, in the manner so common throughout Italy but with initials in the ancient classic manner more *vetusto* such as he had seen produced in Florence.

In the North of Europe the prevailing taste until the sixteenth century was still Gothic. French, German and Netherlandish Gothic characterized the illumination of the codices and printed books of Paris, Cologne, Strasburg, Nuremberg and other cities, and even that of those of Portugal and Spain until in the latter countries it was supplanted by the new styles introduced from Genoa and Rome. After the time of Louis XII France rapidly succumbed to the tastes soon universally prevalent imported from Italy and there grew up a new French and by degrees a new Flemish and a new German also Gothic and classic however, long continued to flourish side by side and each manner has bequeathed us splendid examples of late book decoration. Of the former we may point to such instances as the *Grimani Breviary*¹ now in the Library of St Mark at Venice the *flora* offices at Naples and the *Grand Hours of Anne of Brittany*² at Paris. Somewhat intermediate we find the peculiar style of the school of Jean Fouquet of Tours the monuments of which are the *Antiquities of Josephus* at Paris the *Brentano miniatures*³ at Frankfort and the *Munich Boccaccio*. Examples of classic Cinquecento occur in the colossal graduals once belonging to the Certosa of Pavia and now preserved in the Brera Library at Milan in the Antiphonaries of the Duomo of Florence, and in many of the gorgeons volumes executed for Matthias Corvinus of Hungary for Alphonso I of Naples for the Sforzas of Milan and for the Medici of Florence.

Fac-simile delle miniature contenute nel Breviario Grimani eseguito in fotografia da A. Perin con illustrazioni di F. Zanotto (Avec un texte français de L. de Mas-Latrie) 2 vols. Venezia 1862.

Le Livre d'Heures de la Reine Anne de Bretagne traduit de Latin et accompagné de notes inédites par M. l'abbé Delaunay Chromolithogr. 2 vols. Paris L. Curmer 1841.

² *Jehan Fouquet Heures de Madame Etienne Chevalier* Texte rétabli par M. l'abbé Delaunay Chromolithogr. 2 vols. Paris L. Curmer 1866-6. See also C. PELERIN in the *Fine Arts Quarterly Review* N.S., I. 311. London 1866. A late 15th cent. French MS in the British Museum (Roman de la Rose Ffert. 20) contains fine grisailles.

A superb copy of the *Natural History* of Pliny in the Bodley Library, Oxford (a Douce MS), has miniature medallions of Ferdinand II of Sicily and of one of the Strozzi family of Florence. The book is from the press of Nicolas Jenson of Venice, it is printed on vellum, and richly illuminated.

For Venetian diplomas of various kinds, called *Promissioni Ducali* or *Capitolari* or *Mariegole* many even first class painters were sometimes employed such as Titian, Tintoretto, Bellini and Paul Veronese, but of course in time the work degenerated. Bodinus is named as a miniaturist of the highest class as were Benedetto Bordone and Fra Benedetto in the earlier time of this class of work. Nor must it be forgotten that the whole of the work of the once famous Giulio Clovio,* called the prince of illuminators, lies within the sixteenth century, and that a score of his contemporaries were enriching the antiphonaries and graduals of Italian and Spanish cathedrals with their grandest works.

In the National Library, Paris, is a richly illuminated copy of Plutarch's *Lives*, printed at Venice by N. Jenson in 1478. It is on vellum and in folio. The margins are magnificently painted. On folio 1 is a fine landscape, and in front of this a grand square porch of purple, with a Renaissance ornament in beautiful firm chiaroscuro. Laid over it, as it were, and partly hiding it, is a series of exquisitely painted jewels in a style of work somewhat similar to that in the British Museum Eusebius (Harl. 4,965), with large rich pearls and other gems in fine settings. Several trophies of arms and armour form part of the decoration. The high lights are finely touched with white and the shading is deepened with black. In front of the whole is a lovely monochrome violet frieze on which are four fawns cleverly grouped, a lion and hounds, and two satyrs one carrying a basket of fruit on his head, the other seated on the cornice of the frieze. The top border is most charming. In its centre is a flat shield in green, with a gold frame riveted with four pearls, and bearing an inscription. On each side of it linked with gold and gems and a cord of gold is a medallion framed in a golden

* See J. W. BRADLEY *Venetian Ducals in Bibliographica* ii 25. With 4 phototypes.

† See J. W. BRADLEY *The life and works of G. G. Clovio miniaturist, with notes of the art of book decoration in the sixteenth century* 18 plates. London 1891 and for a specimen of his work *Il Paradiso Dantesco: ci q'cadre nati e nei bozzetti di G. Clovio*. Pubblicati sugli originali della Biblioteca Vaticana da G. G. Lu. 39 phototype plates, and 1 photo zincotype. Roma 1894.

wreath, on which the figures are white tenderly shaded with grey on a black ground. On the broad margin of the page is suspended a string of trophies, medallions, etc. casting shadows, as though they were laid on the page. The task of describing these sumptuous volumes, however, would be one of more toil to the writer than profit to the student for the series continues far into the seventeenth century and even later.

Readers of the foregoing pages will see that Illumination, as a mode of book ornament, was by no means extinguished by the invention of printing, and there seems no reason, beyond the cost, why an art so appropriate should not still be employed, instead of mechanical reproduction to embellish really precious volumes.

LIST OF RECENT IMPORTANT WORKS ON ILLUMINATION ACQUIRED BY THE NATIONAL ART LIBRARY.

GENERAL WORKS

- TIKKANEN, J. I.** *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter. Process illus* (11 x 9) Helsingfors, 1893-
- QUAILE, Edward** *Illuminated manuscripts their origin, history and characteristics chromo and 25 photo lithogr* (9 x 7) Liverpool, 1897
- LONDON British Museum WARREN (G. F.)** *Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum Miniatures, borders and initials Col facsimile plates* (15 x 11) London, 1899-
- CHANTILLY Musée Condé HENRY EUGÈNE PHILIP LOUIS D'ORLÉANS, Duke of Anjou** *Chantilly Le cabinet des livres Manuscripts 29 photo-engr 3 vols* (11 x 9) Paris, 1900
- OECHELHAUSER, Adolf von** *Die Miniaturen der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Heidelberg Photo and chromo lithogr* (13 x 9) Heidelberg 1887

SECTION II

- SCHULTZE, Victor** *Die Quedlinburger Itala Miniaturen der Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin Fragmente der ältesten christlichen Buchmalerei 7 photo-engr and 8 photo zincotypes* (12 x 9) München, 1898

SECTION III

- APOLLONIUS, Citiensis** *Apollonius von Kitium illustrierter Kommentar zu der Hippokratäischen Schrift περί ἀρθρῶν Herausgegeben von H. Schöne 31 photo lithogr* (12 x 9) Leipzig, 1896
- HASELOFF, Arthur** *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis Die Miniaturen der griechischen Evangelien Handschrift in Rossano 15 phototypes and 14 photo-zincotypes* (14 x 11) Berlin, Leipzig, 1898

SECTION IV

- BRUCE, John Alfred** *An enquiry into the Art of the Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages 1 Celtic Illuminated Manuscripts 10 phototypes* (10 x 7) Edinburgh, 1897

SECTION VI

- ROBERT, of Jumièges, Archbishop of Canterbury** *Illuminations in the misal of Robert of Jumièges now in the Public Library of Rouen (Y. 6) 1 p 15 phototypes* (10 x 6) London 1895.
- FORBES-LEITH, William, S. J.** *The Gospel Book of Saint Margaret . . . preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford 8 chromo-photo-lithogr and 60 collotypes* (10 x 7) Edinburgh, 1896.

SECTION VII

- SWARZENSKI Georg Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des x und xi Jahrhunderts 35 *phototype plates* (14 x 10) Leipzig 1901
- BRAUN, Edmund Wilhelm Beiträge zur Geschichte der Trierer Buchmalerei im früheren Mittelalter Excerpt 6 *phototypes* (10 x 6) Trier, 1896
- BEISSEL, Stephan, S J Des bl Bernward Evangelienbuch im Dome zu Hildesheim Mit Handschriften des 10 und 11 Jahrhunderts in kunsthistorischer und liturgischer Hinsicht verglichen von S B 3 ed 26 *photo lithogr* (12 x 9) Hildesheim, 1894
- BEISSEL, Stephan S J Das Evangelienbuch Heinrich III aus dem Dome zu Goslar in der Bibliothek zu Upsala [contains a list of MSS of this School (11th cent)] 1 *phototype* and 10 *photo zincotypes* (In ZEITSCHRIFT für christliche Kunst, XIII, 67) Düsseldorf, 1900
- MONTICASSINO Abbey Miniature sacre e profane dell' anno 1023, illustranti l'Enciclopedia Medioevale di Rabano Mauro, riprodotto da un codice di Montecassino 133 *chromo lithogr* (13 x 10) Montecassino, 1896

SECTION VIII

- LONDON Henry Bradshaw Society The Coronation Book of Charles V of France (Cottonian MS. Tiberius B VIII) edited by D S Dewick 22 *collotype* and 4 *chromo phototype plates* (13 x 10) London 1899.
- MUGNIER, François Les manuscrits a miniatures de la Maison de Savoie Le Bréviaire de Marie de Savoie duchesse de Milan, les Heures des ducs Louis et Amédée IX 17 *phototypes* 8° Montiers-Tarentaise, 1894
- GRUYER, François Anatole Chantilly Les quarante Fouquet 40 *helio engr* (12 x 9) Paris, 1897
- BOLCHOT Henri Jean Fouquet 20 pp 2 *heli engr* and 3 *photo zincotypes* (In GAZETTE des Beaux Arts, 3 S, IV, 273, 416) Paris 1890
- LEPRIEUR, Paul Jean Fouquet 2 (1 *helio*) *engr*, 1 *cut* and 22 *photo zincotypes* (In REVUE de l'Art ancien et moderne, I, II) Paris 1899
- LYONS Societe de Bibliophiles Lyonnais L'entrée de François premier, roy de France en la cite de Lyon, le 12 juillet 1515 Publiée pour le premier fois d'après le manuscrit de la bibliothèque ducal de Wolfenbüttel par G Gaugue 14 *helio engr* 8° Lyon, 1899
- VARNHAGEN, Hermann Über die Miniaturen in vier Französischen Handschriften des fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhunderts auf den Bibliotheken in Erlangen Meiningen und Berlin (zwei Horarien, Fleur des Vertus, Petrarca) 21 *phototypes* and 1 *photo zincotype* (11 x 8) Erlangen, 1894

SECTION IX

- GOLDSCHMIDT Adolph Der Altampster in Hildesheim und seine Beziehung zur symbolischen Kirchenarchitektur des XII Jahrhunderts 8 *phototypes* and 44 *photo zincotypes* (10 x 7) Berlin, 1895

- HASELOFF, Arthur Eine Thüringisch-Sächsische Malerschule des 13. Jahrhunderts 17 *phototype plates* (10 x 7) Strassburg, 1897
- BRODT, Ernest Wilhelm Der Handschriftenschmuck Augsburgs im XV. Jahrhundert 15 *photo-zincotype plates* (10 x 7) Strassburg, 1900
- KAUTZSCH, Rudolf Friedrich Einleitende Erörterungen zu einer Geschichte der Deutschen Handschriftenillustration im spätern Mittelalter. (9 x 6) Strassburg, 1894
- VON DER GABELENTZ, Hans Zur Geschichte der oberdeutschen Miniaturmalerei im XVI. Jahrhundert 12 *phototypes* (10 x 7) Strassburg 1899

SECTION X

- MONTE CASSINO *Abbay* Le miniatures nei rotoli dell'Exultet Documenti per la storia della miniatura in Italia *Chromo lithogr* (20 x 13) Montecassino, 1839-
- TORINO *Il Deputazione di Storia patria per le antiche provincie e per la Lombardia* Atlante paleografico artistico, compilato sui manoscritti esposti in Torino alla Mostra d'Arte Sacra nel MDCCCXCVIII e pubblicato per cura di F. Carta, C. Cipolla e C. Frati 120 *phototype plates* (18 x 13) Torino, 1899
- BELTRAMI, Luca L'arte negli arredi sacri della Lombardia [A selection of objects from the Esposizione Encaristica, Milan, 1875.] 80 *phototypes and 5 photo-zincotypes*. (14 x 11) Milano, 1897
- GIACOMA, Piero Magistri salernitani nondum editi. Catalogo ragionato della Esposizione di Storia della Medicina aperta in Torino nel 1898 28 *process illus* (9 x 6) Torino, 1901
- Atlas 40 *phototypes* (17 x 12)
- LONDON *British Museum* Miniatures and borders from the Book of Hours of Bona Sforza, Duchess of Milan. With introduction by G. F. Warner 65 *tinted collotypes* (11 x 8) London 1894
- BELTRAMI, LUCA Il Libro d'Ore Borromeo alla Biblioteca Ambrosiana, miniato da Cristoforo Preda, secolo XV 40 *phototypes* (10 x 7) Milano, 1896
- VENTURI, Adolfo Museo civico di Torino Alcune miniature 2 *photo-engr* (In ITALY *National Galleries*. Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane. Notizie e documenti, III, 169) Roma, 1897
- GREYER, Gustave L'art ferrarais à l'époque des Princes d'Este 2 vols (10 x 6) Paris, 1897
- HERMANN, Hermann Julius Zur Geschichte der Miniaturmalerei am Hofe der Este in Ferrara Stilistische Studien *Photo engr. and photo-zincotypes* (In BERLIN *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des Kaiserhauses* Jahrbuch, XVI, 117) Berlin, 1900
- VENTURI, Adolfo. La miniatura ferrarese nel secolo XI e il *Derebrum Gratiani* 7 *photo engr and 4 chromo-lithogr*. (In ITALY *National Galleries* Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane. Notizie, IV, 187) Roma, 1899

SECTION XI

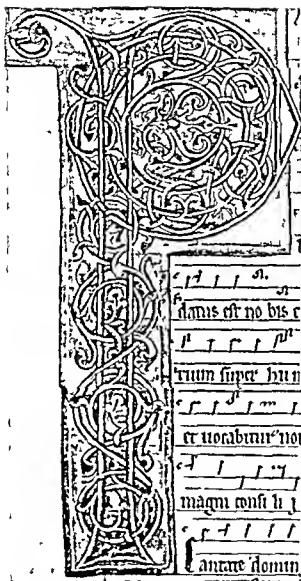
- THOMSON, Sir Edward Maunde English illuminated manuscripts (12 x 8) London, 1895
- THOMSON Henry Yates Facsimiles . of six pages from a psalter, written and illuminated about 1325 A.D. for a member of the St Omer family in Norfolk subsequently (c 1422 A.D.) the property of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester . and now in the library of H Y T 18 pp 8 photo-engr and 1 process illus (17 x 13) London, 1900

SECTION XII

- DESTÈZE, Joseph Les heures de Notre-Dame dites de Hennessy Études sur un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique. 58 phototypes 4" Bruxelles, 1895
- VOGELSANG Willem Holländische Miniaturen des späteren Mittelalters 9 phototypes and 25 photo zincotypes (10 x 7) Strassburg 1899

MISCELLANEOUS

- ALFONSO X, King of Castile and Leon called *The Wise* *Lapidario del Rey D Alfonso X*. Codice original [Reproduced by Don A. Sella and Don H. Rodríguez y Sagasta with preface by Don J. Fernandez Montaña and report of the R. Academia de la Historia of Madrid] 203 chromo photo lithogr, and 4 pp of facsimiles of documents (13 x 9) Madrid, 1881
- MUELLER David Heinrich Die Haggadah von Sarajevo Eine Spanisch-Jüdische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters Von D. H. M., und J. v. Schlosser nebst einem Anhang von D. Kaufmann Phototypes and photo zincotypes 2 vols (11 x 8) Wien 1898
- MEUX, Valerie Susan, *Lady Lady Meux Manuscripts* i. iho lyes of Mabâ Seyôn and Gabra Krêstôs The Ethiopic texts edited with a chapter on the illustrations of Ethiopic MSS. by E. A. Wallis Budge 92 chromo lithogr, 1 phototype and 32 photo zincotypes (12 x 10) London, 1898
- MEUX, Valerie Susan, *Lady Lady Meux Manuscripts* ii. The miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the life of Hanna (Saint Anne), and the magical papyrus of 'Aheta Mîkkîl. The Ethiopic texts with English translations etc, by E. A. Wallis Budge 105 chromo-lithogr (15 x 12) London 1900



Gothic initial P, from a notated gradual French, 12th cent.

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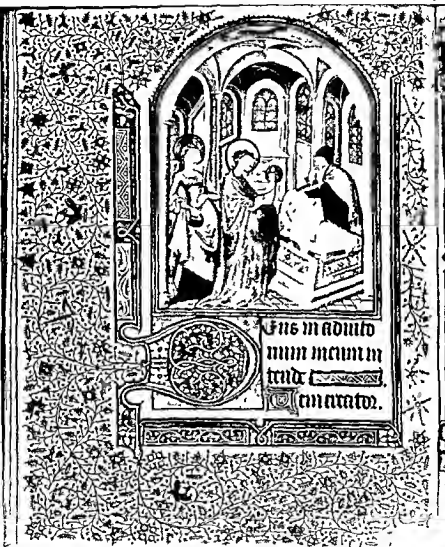
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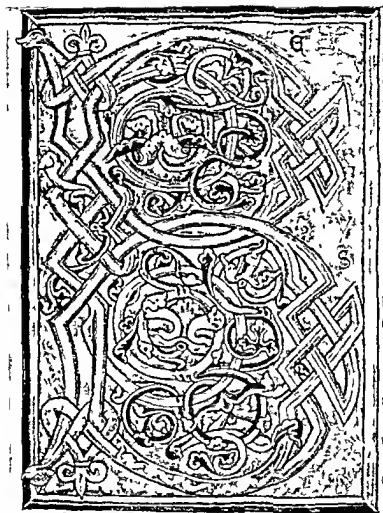
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e. t. d. i. c. i. t. u. n. d. i. c. i. t. i. n. t. a. m. u. l. t. i. m. o.



Page of a book of hours, probably written at Tours With a miniature of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary at the Temple French, 15th cent



Page (*Beatus vir*) of a book of psalms and canticles *German, 12th cent*

verum
 tus est
 super bi
 uotabitur nomen eius in
 lus **C**antate domino ca
 mirabilia fecit. **G**loria sco
Exultate omnes in domino
 deus noster in nobilitate deo
 term **P**otum f
 minus saluta ti
 tum genitum re ueda iuxta iusti

Init al P from a choir book containing a representation of the Nativity
 German (Rhenish), c 1250

A nimia misericordia
 tua domine non erubescam neque irideant in-
 imici mei et cum universi qui te expectant
 non confundentur. **G**lorias tuas domine
 nota fac michi et semitas tuas edoce me.
Gloria seculorum amen. Amen.

-1-



Frontispiece from a choir book of the Abbey of SS Ulrich and Afra at
Augsburg. (For description see p. 131) German, 1494-95

aut sciat q[uod] i[n]uenerit a
quā: nec ap[er]t[ur]a arbori
etm[us], et dicit ei. Ois h[oc] p[er]
mā bonū unū ponit: et ai
m[er]itū fuit. tūc eo q[uod] te
ter[ra] ē. Tu aut[em]: suasti unū
bonū n[on] q[uod] te habet. Ite fr[atr]
unū signos ille ichana
g[ra]t[ia]l[is]: et manifestat
gl[ori]am suā. Et audierunt
in ei[us] discipulis ei[us]. off[er]it. Ibi
t[em]p[or]e. Tu unū la[us]a. p[er] al[ia]m
dicite noi ei[us]. uonit et audite
et n[on] m[er]ito noli es q[uod] am[er]it
om[ne]. qu[ia] m[er]ita f[aci]t me m[er]it[us] h[ab]it[us].

Olata dicit m[er]it[us] dicit
p[er] s[an]ctificat. n[on] q[uod] a p[er]
etm[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us]
p[er] co[mm]u[n]ic[ati]o[n]e d[icit]o ip[s]e p[er] d[icit]
in aqua et forte arbori etm[us]
d[icit]o gustasti arbori etm[us] aqua
unū sem[per] d[icit]o ip[s]e. suasti u[er]
na bonū a p[er] arbori. Ite fr[atr]
f[aci]t il[li] p[er]m[an]et corā discipulis il[li].
Ite fr[atr] in nob[is] p[er] ei[us]
d[icit]o q[uod] me m[er]it[us]

optio. ut diuini negotia
n[on] facim[us] m[er]ito. ad co[mm]u[n]ic[ati]o[n]e
sa capite[m] tuo m[er]it[us] p[er]
p[er]m[an]et. p[er] co[mm]u[n]ic[ati]o[n]e. u[er]
post ep[iscop]o p[er]m[an]et. Ite fr[atr].

Audite dicit ei[us] angli
ei[us] audite et letata ē
f[aci]t etm[us] m[er]it[us] f[aci]t m[er]it[us]
de. p[er] d[icit]o regn[are] m[er]it[us] etm[us]
m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us].

Capite[m] p[er]m[an]et d[icit]o. S[an]cti
n[on] q[uod] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us]
m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us]
ad p[er]m[an]et m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us].

Per m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us]
f[aci]t co[mm]u[n]ic[ati]o[n]e. ad rom[an]a p[er]
f[aci]t m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us]
f[aci]t m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us]
f[aci]t m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us]
f[aci]t m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us]
f[aci]t m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us]
f[aci]t m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us]
f[aci]t m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us] m[er]it[us]

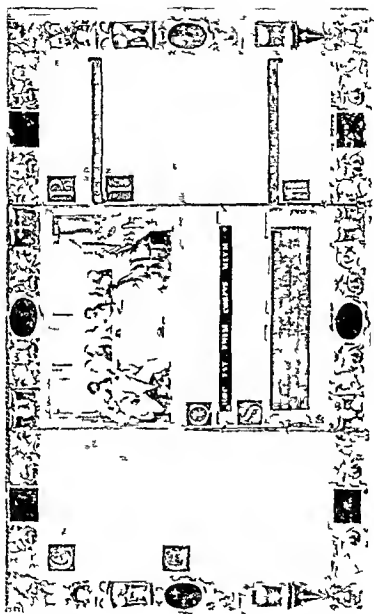
filios israel. et sic scie
tis qd dñs eduxit
nos de terra egypti: et
manebitis glo
riam dñi. Epistola. Ro

Romans: philipp.
Hec cum sen
tite in nob: qd et in
qd ihu. Qui cum
in forma dei eet. nō
rapina arbitus est
esse se equalen dō: s;
semetipm etiam
uit form sui accip
ens in similitudinē
hominū fcs. et hū
tūmētus ut sō. i
humiliavit semet
ipm. fcs obedies us
q; morti: mortē
autē crucis. Proptē

qd et rē exaltavit il
lum. et dāuit illi ro
mam qd est sup omē
nom: ut in noīe ihu
omē genua flectatur:
celstium tritium
et inferiorum. Et oīe
lingua cōfiteat: qd
dñs ille xps: in glia
et rei pñs. H. 12. ij.
lectio vltimē. pphete
N. v. d. ill. Or
it vltimas. Dñs
rē apuit in an
tem: ego autē nō
dico. itto: sū non
abū. Cōpus meū
reddi patientib: et
genas meas nellen
tib. faciem meam
non auit: ab iniqui



Page from a choir book, probably written at Florence. With *Gott e* versal *S*, containing a representation of Pentecost. *Italian, 15th cent*





Unfinished initial L in outline only in a Bible in the Library of Winchester Cathedral English 12th cent (2nd half)

Delectam animam meam deus meus me confite do uenit dñi
 misericordiam meam misericordiam meam et tunc uniuersa
 qui te sperant tunc non confundentur **Q**uia tuas exorat
 si qui te sperant non confundentur domine
 laus tua domine non cessat
 mihi et te natus tuus edoce me **A**lle
 lu ya **V**eni te nobis domine misericordiam
 tuam et saluam te tuam dum da no bis
Alle **V**eni te nobis domine misericordiam
 domine ut in te confitemini et non confundamur misericordiam meam
 et tunc uniuersa qui te sperant non confundentur **D**ominus
 dñs deus noster cum et terra nostra da bis fructum tuum
Opusculi boni et et dominus noster et ad saluandas gentes et anima sua
 et dominus gloriatus assue misericordiam cor dñs noster **O**mnis
 gr̃s ñr̃s ñr̃s exorat bis **A**lle **H**oñr̃e as cor dñs
 ut manifeste sit ut ñr̃s **C**ongrega

Page of a service-book in the library of Worcester Cathedral English, early 14th cent

In adiutorium domini. Confitebor aduersus inimicos meos

cap
tunc

Benedicimus. Exultat. si

capitulum

capitulum

capitulum

capitulum

capitulum

capitulum

capitulum

capitulum

capitulum

capitulum

capitulum

capitulum

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